DEMOSTHENES

PHILIPPICS

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THE

PHILIPPICS

OF

DEMOSTHENES.

With Introductions and Notes.

FOR THE USE OF COLLEGES.

By W. S. TYLER,
WILLISTON PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN AMHERST COLLEGE.

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of the Philippics was intended to be the sequel and companion of the Olynthiacs, already published, and to be bound with that or in a separate volume, at the option of those who use it. Little, therefore, need now be added by way of preface. With comparatively few exceptions, sufficiently explained in the notes, it follows the same text, namely, that of Bekker in Tauchnitz's stereotyped edition; and the introductions and notes have been prepared for the same purpose, on the same general plan, and with substantially the same German and English editions before me for reference and comparison. The American edition of Dr. J. M. Smead has also been frequently consulted, and has never failed to impress me with a high respect for the faithful labors and the thorough scholarship of the editor. I take pleasure also in acknowledging my obligations, in common with all the teachers and students of Greek in our American colleges, to Dr. Champlin as the pioneer American editor of so many of the orations of Demosthenes.

My chief aim has been, not so much to trace out names

and dates and obscure facts, and settle disputed questions in geography, history, archæology, or higher criticism, as to help the student follow the argument, catch the spirit, imbibe the sentiments, take on the style, enter into the life and labors, of the great Athenian orator. It is hoped that the general and special introductions, the analysis of the argument, and the summary prefixed to each paragraph or division, will conduce not a little to this end. In short, the design of the book is not criticism, but education, and that not to teach the teacher, but to guide and inspire the pupil. I never read these orations, especially since our late war, without a new and vivid impression of their adaptation to warn and instruct us in our country and our age, of their educational value to all countries and all ages, of their fitness and their power to teach the young especially, not only rhetorical and intellectual, but political and moral lessons of unspeakable value. And if the young men who read this edition of the Philippics may thus not only be imbued with something of the eloquence of Demosthenes, but also inspired with his detestation of bribery, corruption, oppression, and all wrong, and his supreme devotion to liberty, duty, honor, and right, my object will have been accomplished, and I shall not have labored in vain.

Amherst College, August, 1875.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the Olynthiacs stand first in the manuscripts and printed editions of the entire works of Demosthenes, the first Philippic preceded them some two or three years in the delivery, and is acknowledged to have been the earliest of his orations which have distinct reference to Philip of Macedon. Some twelve years had now elapsed since, on coming to his majority, he had prosecuted his guardians for maladministration, and, by his speeches against Aphobus in the dicastery, had not only won the verdict of the court, but, what was of more value, gained some confidence in himself and developed that hatred against wrong which ever after burned as a fire in his bones. Owing to his defective articulation and disagreeable delivery, he had ignominiously failed in his first appearance before the people; but instructed by the comic actor, Satyrus, and encouraged by others of his audience, who saw in him the germs of an eloquence not inferior to that of Pericles, he withdrew, and, after several years of the most painstaking and persevering self-culture, returned to win a splendid triumph and chain victory to his car.

Three years before the first Philippic (B. C. 355) he had delivered his oration against Leptines, which, although a judicial oration, involved a public question of much inter-

est, namely, that of the *Liturgies*, or charges for the public entertainments, and which was followed by the repeal of the law introduced by Leptines and opposed by Demosthenes. Two years before (B. C. 354) he had delivered his first parliamentary or popular harangue before the assembled people, the Oration De Symmoriis, in which, while he earnestly dissuades the Athenians from an aggressive, needless, and inexpedient war against the Persians, to which they were inclined, at the same time, with the insight and foresight of a true statesman, he urges them to the adoption of such a plan of *classification* and *contribution to the public service* as would prepare them for any and every public emergency, thus perhaps already intending (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, Rhet., VIII. 7), although he was too wise to make a premature disclosure of this chief end, to husband and rally the resources of his country for the great struggle with a nearer and more dangerous enemy, — Philip of Macedon. This earliest of the popular orations of Demosthenes, — though he was then a young man at the most of thirty-three years, according to Grote and Curtius only thirty years of age,* — thus shows much of the same practical wisdom and discernment of men and things which mark his whole career; and from this time his history becomes identified with the history of Athens, and inseparably connected with that of all the other Grecian states. Curtius's admirable chapters on "Athens and King Philip" and the "Last Struggles for Independence" (Vol. V., Chap. III. and IV) are all strung,

* Authorities differ about the date of Demosthenes's birth by a period of four years, from B. C. 385 to 381. See (besides commentaries, lives of Demosthenes, and dictionaries of biography) Thirlwall's History of Greece, Chap. XLIII.; Grote, Vol. XI., Chap. LXXXVII.; and Curtius, Vol. V., Chap. III.

like beads on a thread, on the life of Demosthenes; and the same is substantially true of Thirlwall, Grote, and all the best authorities on this portion of Grecian history. The next year (B. C. 353) he made his speech Pro Megalopolitanis, in which he stems in like manner the popular current of hatred against the Thebans, and advises the Athenians to maintain the existing status at Megalopolis and in the Peloponnesus, thus consciously or unconsciously reserving the united strength of Athens and Thebes, and so far as possible of all Greece, for the final conflict with their common enemy.

Philip had already been on the throne of Macedon seven or eight years, and during six of these years he had been steadily encroaching on the possessions or allies of Athens in Northern Greece. Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone had all fallen into his hands; Pheræ, Pagasæ, all Thessaly, was virtually in his possession; and the Athenians were in a perpetual quarrel with him, if not at open war. Yet in all this time we find no direct and explicit mention of him in the extant orations of Demosthenes. The Athenians were slow to believe that a king of Macedon, the disputed sovereign of a nation of Northern barbarians who had hitherto been no match for the Olynthians and their immediate neighbors, and were scarcely allowed access to the sea at any point, could be formidable to the military power of Athens or dangerous to the liberties of Greece.* But Greece, weakened by divisions, distracted by mutual jealousies, and almost exhausted by civil wars, was no longer the Greece that hurled back the millions of Persia, baffled and ruined. The Peloponnesian War (B. C. 431 – 404) had impaired the Hellenic spirit and used up the resources of both the leading Grecian states. The Theban War, ending with the death

of Epaminondas, B. C. 362, had weakened and humbled Sparta. The Social War, between the Athenians and their allies, had stripped Athens of no small portion of its wealth and power. The Sacred or Phocian War, which was raging at this time, was still more fatal in its consequences, rousing almost all Greece to arms and opening the way for the direct and authorized interference of Philip in Grecian affairs. Strong in himself, in his person, his native genius, and his accidental training in the school of Epaminondas, strong in his autocratic power, his brave and disciplined army, and his growing navy, Philip was still stronger in the weakness and divisions of those whom he meant to subjugate. Athens, where he most feared resistance to his ambitious projects, was no longer the Athens that Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides animated to heroic sacrifices and led to glorious victories over the Persians. Arms had given place to arts. The Acropolis glittered with temples and theatres which excited the envy and tempted the cupidity of their neighbors, while the people were engrossed with a succession of spectacles and festivals. The military fund was alienated to the maintenance of magnificent shows, and it was made a crime even to propose its restoration. The poor clung tenaciously to the show-money which they drew from the public treasury, and the rich contributed reluctantly to the public service. Mercenary troops had been their reliance in war till they had almost forgotten that citizens ever went in person to the field of battle. From such a people Philip had little to fear, unless some master spirit of patriotism and eloquence could rouse them from their lethargy. He early saw and remarked that the battle was not with the Athenians, but with Demosthenes. If not the earliest to discover the danger, Demosthenes was the first to proclaim it openly and boldly to his sleeping

countrymen. The first great occasion of immediate alarm for the liberty of Greece and their own safety was the attempted march of Philip — now acting ostensibly as the representative of the Amphictyonic Council and the avenger of the god at Delphi in the Sacred War — through the pass of Thermopylæ for the subjugation or extermination of the sacrilegious Phocians. This was prevented by the Athenians, who, awakened from their lethargy, despatched an armament of such formidable strength, and so fortified and guarded the pass, that Philip did not attempt to force his way through it. But he went on strengthening his infantry and cavalry, building up a navy, and extending his conquests in Thrace till his attack on the Ἡραῖον Τεῖχος, a fortress so near the Chersonese that the Athenian possessions and colonists there were thus threatened, again aroused their fears. Then they *voted* to equip a fleet of forty triremes, to man it with Athenian citizens, all persons up to the age of forty-five being liable to serve in the expedition, and to raise an extraordinary tax of sixty talents. But while the armament was in preparation, news came to Athens that Philip was sick, and then that he was dead; and then they gave up the expedition (Ol., III. 4, 5). It was under these circumstances* (B. C. 352, 351) that Demosthenes ascended the bema and delivered his first Philippic, in which he urged the Athenians to necessitate the return of Philip to his own country and keep him there by sending a fleet to hover along the coast, and also

* Grote and apparently Curtius suppose the oration to have been delivered in the interval between the magnificent vote and the almost farcical execution of it, early in B. C. 351. Thirlwall places it prior to the vote (352). But he is obliged to suppose the reports of Philip's sickness or death alluded to in this oration (§ 10) to be different and at a different time from those mentioned in the third Olynthiac (§ 5), which seems hardly probable. See further, in Introduction to First Philippic.

to raise another and larger armament and have it in constant readiness to sail at a moment's warning to the place of danger. From this time opposition to Philip's designs against the liberties of his country becomes the ruling idea of Demosthenes's life. This was the first of twelve orations, delivered in the course of about as many years (B. C. 352 – 340), all of which Dionysius calls Philippics, and which, whatever may have been their special subjects or occasions, were all in reality directed against the designs of Philip. The genius of Demosthenes has invested the name of this ambitious sovereign with an added interest, and the word "Philippic" has a place and a meaning in all the languages of the civilized world. The Oration De Symmoriis, as interpreted by Dionysius (Rhet., VIII. 7) and Curtius (V. p. 259, Amer. ed.), was a Philippic in disguise. The three Olynthiacs are expressly *called* Philippics by Dionysius (De Adm. Vi Dic. in Demos. 21 – 43), and are as fierce in their denunciation of the Macedonian as any of his orations. The Speech on the Chersonese is scarcely less bitter and severe against Philip than the third Philippic which was spoken about the same time. Franke classifies the De Chersoneso, the De Pace, and the Olynthiacs with the Philippics commonly so called in his edition of the "*Nine* Philippic Orations of Demosthenes." Only four orations, however, are usually called Philippics; and one of these (the fourth) is so manifestly made up of portions of other orations of Demosthenes, strung together by another hand, that it is almost universally pronounced to be spurious, and we have not thought it worth while to include it in this edition.

If any one should infer from the title that the Philippics, whether those universally so called or those sometimes classified with them, are nothing but denunciation and in-

vective against Philip, it would be as great a mistake as another which is quite extensively prevalent, namely, that Demosthenes is always harping on the ancestral glories of Athens. The fact is, that there is an almost infinite variety in these as there is in his other orations, — a variety in the contents and subject-matter, not only in different orations suited to the occasion and circumstances, but in the same oration, passing from the most vehement invective or the most glorious panegyric to the simplest facts and the driest details of business, — and a corresponding variety in style so that ancient critics were accustomed to ascribe to the style of Demosthenes the characteristic excellences of all the other masters in oratory, history, and philosophy, — the nervous conciseness of Thucydides, the graceful narrative of Plato, the rhythmical flow and cadence of Isocrates, the simplicity and clearness of Lysias, the dignity and strength of Isaeus, each in its proper place, — together with a logical force and a patriotic and moral earnestness all his own.

If we inquire what were the secrets of Demosthenes's power as an orator, the main points may perhaps be briefly enumerated under the following heads: —

1. He was not a mere orator: he was also a statesman. "I did not speak thus," he says in the just pride and splendid egotism of his Oration on the Crown, "and then not move a resolution; and I did not move a resolution, and then not serve on the embassy; and I did not serve on the embassy, and then not convince the Thebans: but from the beginning all through to the end I devoted myself absolutely to the dangers which encompassed the state." While this was his boast, it was also his strength. His oratory was the exact expression of the orator himself: and the orator himself was the impersonation of the best elements

of his age and country, the guardian of the liberties of Greece, the representative of the fame and glory of Athens. He may perhaps be considered a man of one idea, but that idea was the very soul and almost the substance of the best periods of Grecian history. If he had but one object, that object was the only one worthy of Athens and of Greece. And he strove to accomplish that chief end of his own life and his country's history by means as various as the circumstances under which he spoke, by counsels and measures just suited to the emergency, by facts or arguments, simple narrative or impassioned appeal, clear details of plans and forces or urgent motives to immediate and strenuous action, just such as the people needed, and as each oration or part of an oration seemed to require. With instruction, reproof, conviction, and persuasion thus coming each in its proper time and place, and all pervaded, animated, and inspired by one idea and that idea the very life and glory of Athenian history, it is not strange that he carried with him the sympathies of the people, even when they were smarting under defeat incurred in following his advice.

2. Another secret of his power lay in the richness and appropriateness of the materials and the strength and skilful arrangement of the arguments which constituted the staple of his orations. It is a great mistake to suppose that the chief merit of Demosthenes was in his style and elocution. These greatly enhanced his power over those who heard him ; but these cannot explain the charm that still lingers in his orations when read and studied in a dead language, and which is not lost in the most imperfect translation. Just and vivid conceptions of the designs of Philip, of the dangers of his country and the character of his countrymen, broader views of human nature, max-

ims of prudence and sentiments of morality of universal application, arguments of every kind drawn from every possible source, informed and enforced by the very logic of common-sense and marshalled as Nestor advised Agamemnon to arrange his troops, — all these march in solid phalanx upon a single point and press upon it with overwhelming force. Substance rather than show, breadth and depth rather than superficial polish, characterize the orations of Demosthenes. Hence when, in the zenith of his glory, our orator was asked which he thought to be the better, his own orations or those of Callistratus, his answer was that those of Callistratus were the better if they were to be heard, but his own if they were to be read; thus showing that while he set a high value on delivery, he claimed the superiority in a more solid and enduring excellence. Time has confirmed the truth and justice of that claim; the orations of Callistratus are all lost, but those of Demosthenes live and will live through all ages.

3. Passing now from the matter to the manner, we observe that the style of Demosthenes is chiefly remarkable for its adaptation to the subject-matter and occasion; in other words, its perfect fitness to express his thoughts and accomplish his object. This implies variety, flexibility, simplicity, clearness, transparency, — the highest excellences of style. His style is highly artistic, but the art is concealed. As compared with most of our modern popular orators, it is barren of tropes and bare of ornament. Beautiful figures of every kind are found in his orations; but he never uses them merely for embellishment: he uses them to illustrate and enforce his ideas; in other words, because the figure spontaneously suggests itself as the most obvious, natural, and forcible expression for the thought. Simple things in simple ways; plain thoughts in plain

words; burning emotions in burning language; thunder only when there is lightning, and when there is no tempest, and no occasion for any, the tranquil liquid atmosphere and the clear blue sky, — in short, fit words in fit places is the one universal law in the style of Demosthenes. Simple narrative rises into sublime declamation, and that again subsides into simple narrative. Vehement bursts of passion are soon followed by a resumption of the chain of argument out of which they flashed like the spark from an electric communication momentarily interrupted. After prostrating his adversaries by his fiery logic, as Robert Hall happily says, "by his abrupt and terrible interrogations he tramples them in the mire." His sentences are seldom very long; and when they are longest, they are compact, condensed, with all the clauses duly co-ordinated or subordinated according to the Greek idea of a period, and connected with other sentences (usually shorter ones for the sake of variety) according to the strict rules of Geeek composition. As the oration grows more animated and impassioned, the sentences usually become shorter and more intense, following each other in quick succession, like the rapid firing in the heat of battle; though he seldom continues this for a great while without stopping, gathering up his forces in one mighty phalanx, and hurling them in massive form and irresistible force upon the enemy.

4. The soul of Demosthenes's eloquence was his political and moral earnestness. He was thoroughly, we might almost say terribly, in earnest. Even in his calmest moments his heart was all aglow, and, whenever his judgment approved and his will permitted, this set on fire his logic; this flashed out in his interrogations, and broke forth, like thunderbolts, in his invectives; this was the heat of passion which accompanied the light of reason, in all his speech

and action. His earnestness was partly, perhaps, professional and personal; hence his greatest oration, like the greatest speech of Daniel Webster, was one in which his own reputation was involved with the honor of his country. But it was chiefly that earnestness which springs from great ideas and a noble object. It was patriotic, heroic, martyr-like. Demosthenes was the embodiment of more than Athenian character and history. He was the impersonation of those ideas of undying power and universal influence, — the ideas of duty, liberty, and glory. To breathe these ideas into his countrymen was the object of his orations, the aim and end of his life. And while they listened to him, for the time being, — alas, that it was only for the time being, — he often succeeded in animating them with his own spirit. And the most valuable lesson which the young orator and scholar may learn from the orations and the history of Demosthenes is that eloquence consists not in fine words and beautiful figures, but in truth and earnestness, and the chief end of life is not success, but duty and self-sacrificing devotion to some worthy end.

5. The delivery of Demosthenes was just that thoughtful, soul-full, sublime, godlike "*action*" which he himself declared to be the first, second, and third thing in oratory, and by which he meant, not gesticulation or elocution, but ὑπόκρισις (that was the orator's word), that is, the exact *representation* or full and perfect *expression* of the thoughts, emotions, wishes, and aspirations of the speaker. It was those low undertones so expressive of depth and earnestness, and that compressed lip full and more than full of determination and intensity, and the brow furrowed with thought and care, and the eye moistened with tears, and the form bent forward as if in eager pursuit, and the clinched hands giving a terrible emphasis to the utterance

of his impassioned sentences, — it was all these cured of defects, freed from impediments, and made flexible, supple, and expressive by those long years of study and practice, and then informed by wise plans, illumined by patriotic sentiments, and inspired by heroic purposes, — in a word, it was the whole spirit and soul and body of the patriot orator and statesman speaking to the whole body and soul and spirit of his audience. It is quite unnecessary to remark, how worthy such an orator is to be the study of the noble youth in our colleges and universities.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προυτίθετο, 1
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τότ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γιγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 2
ναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὃ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεί τοι εἰ πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ᾽ 3

ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκο-
μένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ᾽ ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων,
ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως
οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπε-
μείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλε-
μον. τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσησθε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυ-
λαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὔτ᾽, ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε,
τοιοῦτον οἷον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι
χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρα-
τεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ
τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι᾽ ἣν ταραττόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ
4 μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄν-
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον
εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ
δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ
πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ᾽,
ὅτι εἴχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν
καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον
τοῦτον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκείνου
νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε
καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ᾽ ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ ᾽κείνῳ.
5 εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην,
ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι το-
σαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὑτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα
συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν,
οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ᾽ εἶδεν, ὦ

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα
μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἆθλα τοῦ πολέμου κεί-
μενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ
τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυ-
νεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ 6
χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ
ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἑλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ
σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμα-
χεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν
ἅπαντες οὓς ἂν ὁρῶσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράτ-
τειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή. ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 7
ναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι
γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος
ὑμῶν, οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὑτὸν χρήσι-
μον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἕτοιμος
πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ
δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἁπλῶς
ἢν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθε
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ
πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ'
αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερρᾳθυ-
μημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε.
μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέ- 8
ναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον
καὶ δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
πάνυ νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα
περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κἀν

τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε
μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν
διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν, ἣν ἀπο-
9 θέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἷ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρω-
πος, ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ
ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφά-
νους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων ἃ
κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι προσ-
περιβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς
10 καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄν-
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἃ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί
γένηται; ἐπειδὰν νὴ Δί' ἀνάγκη ᾖ. νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ
τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴομαι τοῖς
ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, πε-
ριιόντες αὑτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· λέγεταί τι καινόν;
γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ
Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
11 διοικῶν; τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ'
ἀσθενεῖ. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός
τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε,
ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον
ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καί-
12 τοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν,
ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα,

καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἄν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας 13
ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἑτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἥν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἴομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὕστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τἄλλα ὡς ἄν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ 14
πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινὶ καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλῦσαι δυνηθείημεν), ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα παρα- 15
σκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται ἕως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεταί τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.

16 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις
πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαί φημι δεῖν, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς
οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς, ἐάν τι δέῃ, πλευστέον
εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς
ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖα
17 ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν
ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας
χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον
καὶ Ὄλυνθον καὶ ὅποι βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ
τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆσαι, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς
ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὔβοιαν καὶ
πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευ-
18 ταῖα πρῴην εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε. οὔτοι
παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ
φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἵν' ἢ διὰ τὸν φό-
βον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·
εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ'
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ
παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος
ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῷ
19 καιρόν. ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ
δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις δύναμίν τινα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προ-
χειρίσασθαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἣ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ
κακῶς ἐκεῖνον ποιήσει. μή μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυ-
ρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνά-
μεις, ἀλλ' ἣ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, κἂν ὑμεῖς ἕνα κἂν

πλείους κἂν τὸν δεῖνα κἂν ὁντινοῦν χειροτονήσητε
στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ 20
τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς
ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφὴν ἕξει, καὶ
πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἕκα-
στον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξένους μὲν λέγω —
καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε ὃ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν·
πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ
μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἱρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ
πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ
ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν
ἐλάττω φαίνηται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώ- 21
τας δισχιλίους, τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν
εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἄν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς
ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν
τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς
ἀλλήλοις· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω.
καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων
πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίους τοὐλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς
πεζούς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱπ-
παγωγοὺς τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; 22
ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου
ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς
ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφὴ γενή-
σεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδάν,
διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

23 Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα,
ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ
παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ λῃστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ
τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν
ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή)
οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖ-
ναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν
ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν,
οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας
καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι·
24 καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμε-
νοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ'
ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν
στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ
παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς
Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα,
ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν
25 ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς
προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας
οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρα-
καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς χρώ-
μεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς,
εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Δί' οὐχ
ἡμεῖς γε, εἴποιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.
26 οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους

*καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο;
τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκ-
πέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς
πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ
πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτο-
νεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,* 27
*ταξιάρχους παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχον παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἄρ-
χοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν᾽ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως
ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἵπ-
παρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως
κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν; καὶ
οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ᾽ ὑφ᾽
ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις
ἂν ᾖ.*

Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ 28
*δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα
ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα
τοίνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυ-
νάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι
πρός, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα,
εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρα-
τιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαῦθ᾽ ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ
μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ,
τοῖς δ᾽ ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα
δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τά-
λαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτη-* 29

ρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ᾽ ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντὴς πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν ἕτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων ἃ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι; τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

30 Ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὑρεῖν, ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἐπιχειροτονῆτε τὰς γνώμας, ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

31 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ
32 δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ᾽ ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἁπάντων) ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ᾽ ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ

δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος
καὶ ἃ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ᾽ ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ᾽ ὥραν
τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥᾴδιον καὶ
τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ
καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥᾳδίως ἔσται.
Ἃ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ 33
τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν βου-
λεύσεται· ἃ δ᾽ ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν
ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ
τἄλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς
τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν
νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν
χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι,
τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον
ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ᾽ ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευό-
μενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες. καὶ ἔτι πρὸς 34
τούτῳ πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγι-
στον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ᾽
οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμά-
χων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν.
ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς
ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον
εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πο-
λίτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ᾽ ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ
πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ᾽ ἐξέλεξε, τὰ

τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ
τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ᾽ ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ οὔτε ταῦτα
ἠδύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ᾽ εἰς τοὺς χρόνους οὓς ἂν προ-
35 θῆσθε βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δή ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν
καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου
γίγνεσθαι, ἄν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἄν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ
τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ᾽ ἀνα-
λίσκεται χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ᾽ εἰς ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων,
καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ᾽
εἴ τι τῶν ἁπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀποστόλους πάντας
ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν
36 εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν
ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν
ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς,
πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν,
οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ᾽ ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἠμέλη-
ται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου
παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἀόριστα ἅπαντα.
τοιγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθί-
σταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ
χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμ-
βαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦν-
37 τας, εἶτ᾽ αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἶτ᾽ ἐν ὅσῳ
ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ᾽ ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέω-
μεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων

καιροὶ οὐ μένουσι τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἃς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἷαί τε οὖσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ᾽ εἰς τοῦθ᾽ ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ᾽ ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων 38
ἀληθῆ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μέν, ὅσα ἄν τις
ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα
ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ᾽ ἡ
τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ᾖ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία
γίγνεται, αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φενα-
κίζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ᾽ ἀναβαλλομένους ἃ ἂν 39
ᾖ δυσχερῆ πάντων ὑστερίζειν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ
τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ
χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀλλ᾽ αὐ-
τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέν τις ἂν
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν᾽ ἃ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα
πράττηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζωνται διώ-
κειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύνα- 40
μιν ἁπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὁπλίτας, ἱππέας,
χρημάτων πρόσοδον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον

ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδὲν
δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν,
οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πλη-
γεὶς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, κἂν ἑτέρωσε πατάξῃς,
ἐκεῖσέ εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν
41 ἐναντίον οὔτ' οἶδεν οὔτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἐν
Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν ψη-
φίζεσθε, ἐὰν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί που,
συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ'
ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ συμφέρον περὶ
τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾶτε οὐ-
δέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε.
ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν
42 ἥκει τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι
θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ
τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύ-
την ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπ-
ται καὶ προείληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν
ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ
ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἴσχιστα
ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεί
τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέ-
σαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε.
43 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται
μήτ' ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν
ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρή-
σασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ

τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν
ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἶτα
τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ
τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἐὰν ἀποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν
οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ 44
μέρει γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ
πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ
οὖν προσορμιούμεθα, ἤρετό τις. εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρά,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς
ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν· ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθα
οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλ-
λήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μὴ γένη-
ται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἄν, οἶμαι, μέρος 45
τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ
τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται·
ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς
ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγε-
λῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιού-
τους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕνα 46
ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πρᾶξαι πάνθ'
ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ
τὸν δεῖνα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστιν. τὰ
δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν· ὅταν γὰρ
ἡγῆται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξέ-
νων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ψευδόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν

ἀκούσητε ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ
προσδοκᾶν;
47 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ
μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἴκαδ'
ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς
τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν
δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης ὥστε τῶν
στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δὶς καὶ τρὶς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν
περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ
ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ,
ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνα-
τον μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου
μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ
48 μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν πε-
ριιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράτ-
τειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας
διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασι-
λέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ
49 λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ
δ' οἶμαι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ
πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τήν τ'
ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-
μένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δί' οὕτω προαι-
ρεῖσθαι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ'
ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι

γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' 50
ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμέν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὕρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἂν μὴ προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν 51
εἱλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν τε ἃ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν, ἐὰν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἱροῦμαι. νικῴη δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

1 Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται περὶ
ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρή-
νην, ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ
φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν
ἅπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγο-
ροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος
εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν
2 ἄξιον· ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει
πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει ὥσθ', ὅσῳ τις ἂν
μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ
3 ποιεῖν συμβουλεῦσαι χαλεπώτερον. αἴτιον δὲ τού-
των ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκ-
τεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν οὐχὶ
λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων
μὲν ἀφέσταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δέ, ὡς
δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπά. ταῦτα διεξερχόμεθα· ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς
οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ
λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρε-
σκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνον πράττειν

ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶ νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε.
συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως 4
εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπου-
δάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ
πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέ-
γειν δικαιότερα ὑμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥᾴδιον, καὶ πόνος
οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ 5
παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ
προελθόντα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει πάντας ἡμᾶς,
μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ'
ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ
πρότερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν
ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ
σώσοντα τῶν ῥᾴστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ 6
ὁρῶν ἡλίκος ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος,
καὶ μηδένα οἴεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει
μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω,
καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς
λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τά-
ναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν
ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον
προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἐὰν δ' οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ
πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθήσεσθε. ἐγὼ 7
τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φί-
λιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη;
Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν;

πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἃ Θηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ
οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί δή ποτε;
ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ
ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐ πρὸς
εἰρήνην οὐδ᾽ ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν, εἶδε τοῦτ᾽
8 ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι
τοῖς [illegible]ις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ
ποιήσειεν ὑφ᾽ οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ᾽
ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖ-
σθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ
τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ
πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώ-
σεσθε, ἄν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν
9 εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο,
ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ
ἐάσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ
ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν ἀλλὰ καὶ συ-
στρατεύσειν ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσ-
σηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ταὐτὰ ὑπειληφὼς εὖ
ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον,
10 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν
ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ
κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ᾽ ἀνταλ-
λάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ᾽ ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκότως καὶ περὶ
ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπείληφε καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀργείων καὶ Θη-
βαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὁρῶν

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὑρίσκει 11
γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγό-
νους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ'
αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομέ-
νους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνίκ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὁτιοῦν
ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ
πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς
εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ κἀγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως
(ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τἀκείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις
ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγό-
νους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς
δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ 12
τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει
κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ
μὲν ὑμᾶς ἕλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἱρή-
σεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἕξειν
τῆς αὑτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν
καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἱρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε
ὁρᾷ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ
μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὕρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς
λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης
ἔτυχεν.

Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί' εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς 13
οὐ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε

ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστ᾽ αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

14 Ἀλλ᾽ ἐβιάσθη νὴ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ᾽ ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιιόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ·
15 ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ᾽ ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ. οὓς δ᾽ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν
16 σώζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ᾽ εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὔτ᾽ ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ᾽, ἄν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς

πόλεως συντάττων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον 17
τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίζεσθε γάρ.
ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους
ὑπείληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ
τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν
ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τἄλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκ-
τηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο,
οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως ἡγεῖτο. ἀμφότερα 18
οὖν οἶδε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς
αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων
δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζει καὶ παρώξυνται,
πείσεσθαί τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ
φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν,
ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς Θηβαίους
καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταὐτὰ βουλομένους τού-
τοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπή- 19
σειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ
ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε
καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ
πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν
συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν
εἰρῆσθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, 20
δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ
Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ὅτ' Ἀνθε-
μοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον
Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτίδαιαν δ'

ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλών, καὶ τὴν
μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῄρητο, τὴν χώ-
ραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἆρα προσδο-
κᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἄν τινος
21 πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγώ, μικρὸν
χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπωσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς
ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες,
οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς
πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὗται λίαν ὁμι-
22 λίαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἆρ' οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ'
αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν
καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν
νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἢ τὸν τὴν
πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσό-
δους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν
23 γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ',
ἔφην ἐγώ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε
Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμέ-
νον ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν
νὴ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, παντοδαπὰ εὑρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι
πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ
24 τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ
ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ δαπάνης
προσδεῖται· ἓν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρο-
νούντων ἐν ἑαυτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι
μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς

πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο;
ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε·
ἐὰν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί 25
ζητεῖτε; ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἶτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιπ-
πον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας
ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς
ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως,
ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπό-
την εὕρητε;

Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς 26
ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ
τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστε-
ρον ἀκούσαντες, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχή-
σονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται.
καὶ οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πε-
λοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ'
ὁρῶσί τι πράξουσιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες 27
αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπι-
βουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη
ποιῆσαι λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάντα ὑπομείναν-
τες· οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥᾳστώνη μεῖζον
ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐ- 28
τοὺς ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονῆτε· ἃ δὲ
νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι,
ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς

29 ἐπείσθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. καλεῖν· οὔτε
γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν
ὑμεῖς οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα
πράξειν τυχόντα εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ᾽ ἦν
πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ
πάλιν γ᾽ ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ᾽ ἐγὼ
γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκων
πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακι-
ζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην
30 καὶ οὐκ εἴων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέ-
γοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος
καὶ δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ᾽, ἅπερ
εὔξαισθ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιὰς
μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς
ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὑτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει,
Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἀντ᾽ Ἀμφιπόλεως
ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βήμα-
τος ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύετ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ
31 ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμνῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ
πάντων αἴσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπί-
δας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε·
οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ
καλεῖν φημὶ δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τἀ-
ληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀπο-
32 κρύψομαι. οὐχ ἵν᾽ εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ
μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐμοὶ
προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν παράσχω πρόφα-

σιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ' ἵνα
ὡς ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. ἀλλ' οἶμαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπή-
σειν ἃ Φίλιππος πράττει, μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ 33
γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην
μὲν ἂν εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς
ᾖ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξου-
σία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἀκούηθ' ὅτι
ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστιν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀλλ'
αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τρα-
χεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν 34
πρέσβεων σεσιωπηκότων ἐφ' οἷς αὑτοῖς συνίσασι
δεδωροδοκηκόσι, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν
διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περι-
πεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίους οὐκ
εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα
τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας. ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνί- 35
σταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων,
ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, ὅμως ἐπα-
ναμνῆσαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας καὶ Πύλας
ὑμᾶς προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος
γέγονε, καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων
μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττι-
κὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον ἐπειδὰν παρῇ,
γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρε- 36
κρούσθητε τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα·

οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δήπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἦλθεν ἄν ποτε στόλῳ Φίλιππος, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδί-
ζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι'
ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ
παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς
37 εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς μὲν ὑπομνῆσαι
νῦν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθείη μάλιστ'
ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὦ πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ
βουλοίμην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέ-
ναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δικην
ὑποσχεῖν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

Πολλῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων 1
ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φί-
λιππος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον
ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων οἶδ᾽
ὅτι φησάντων γ᾽ ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ
λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς
ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπηγμένα πάντα
τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὁρῶ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ
βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δ᾽ ᾖ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν
ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν
ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλόταθ᾽ ἔμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ᾽
ἕξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατε-
θῆναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἴτια τούτων, 2
καὶ οὐ παρ᾽ ἓν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα
ἀφῖκται, μάλιστα δ᾽, ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὑρή-
σετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα
λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται,
ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμα-
σιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο
ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ᾽ αὑτῆς δίκην

λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται
3 καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ
τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μέν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἴτιαι
δὲ τῶν κακῶν. ἀξιῶ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐάν
τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι
διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε
γὰρ ὡδί. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει
ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μετα-
δεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ὑμῖν
μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὅ τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ
πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
4 συμβουλεύειν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. εἶθ' ὑμῖν
συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυ-
φᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούου-
σιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ
τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν
οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τι λέγω· εἰ δ' ἃ συμφέρει
χωρὶς κολακείας ἐθελήσετε ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν.
καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ
πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα
ποιεῖν βούλησθ', ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσα-
5 σθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὃ μέλλω
λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χείριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυ-
θόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει.
τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν
τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα

ἔχει, ἐπεί τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτω
διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω.
νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥᾳθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμε-
λείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκρά-
τηκεν· οὐδ' ἥττησθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὡμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ 6
πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν
ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ
ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ῥᾷστα αὐτὸν ἀμυνούμεθα·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διάκεινται ὥστε πό-
λεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμε-
τέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος
ἀνέχεσθαι τινῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολ-
λάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινές εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλε-
μον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ
τούτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μή ποθ' ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα 7
γράψας τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμ-
πέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο
πρῶτον ἁπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν
ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν 8
τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξω-
μαι, φημὶ ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα
λέγοντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν
ἀξιῶ· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων
καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὑτὸν τοὔνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς
εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς

τοῦ πολέμου χρῆται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνε-
σθαι; φάσκειν δὲ εἰρήνην ἄγειν εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ
9 ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην
ὑπολαμβάνει ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα τἄλλα λαβὼν ἐφ'
ἡμᾶς ἥξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ'
ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει·
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων
πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν,
ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.

10 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν
ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστα-
τοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ
καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς
11 ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια
εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ 'κείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ
μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον
χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγα-
νακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομέ-
νους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους
ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἳ παρηκο-
λούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον
πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου πάρ-
12 οδον. καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῴην ὡς φίλος καὶ
σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβών,
καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὠρείταις του-
τοισὶ ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομ-

φέναι κατ' εὔνοιαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς
νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι, συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ
φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι.
εἶτ' οἴεσθ' αὐτόν, οἳ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, 13
μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξα-
πατᾶν αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι,
ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως
ἂν ἑκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ 14
ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν
ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ'
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας τὴν
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυ-
τὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθο-
φορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν
ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

Ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν 15
ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν
ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἄν;
οὐδεὶς δήπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι
τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὔπω Διοπείθους στρατη-
γοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλ-
μένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς
ἐκ Σερρίου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας
ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν.
καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ
ὀμωμόκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἢ 16
τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα

ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος
οὗτος· τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἄν τ' ἐπὶ
μικροῦ τις ἄν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίνῃ, τὴν
αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερ-
ρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες
ὑμετέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ
βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ;
17 φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτῳ δέω
ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς
ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἁπτόμενον καὶ
ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λύειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφι-
στάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς
τείχεσιν ἤδη προσάγωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γάρ,
οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατα-
σκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ
18 μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἄν, εἴ
τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι,
τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν
γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τἀκείνου φρο-
νῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἱστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς;
19 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φω-
κέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὁρίζομαι.

ὑμᾶς δέ, ἐὰν μὲν ἀμύνησθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρονήσου νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαν-
τίου, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τούτοις καὶ διατηρῆσαι 20
μή τι πάθωσι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. βούλομαι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν᾽ εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν᾽ ὑμῶν γ᾽ αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ᾽ αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ 21
κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ηὔξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὑτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ᾽ οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ᾽ αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα
τοιαῦτ᾽ ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ᾽ 22
ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα οὑτωσὶ περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα.

23 καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ
τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριά-
κοντα ἑνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι
καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους
μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔθ'
ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώ-
ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ
24 δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν
Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδή τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσ-
φέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν
ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἠδικημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ
πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς
τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπε-
χείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα
ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ
25 μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους
λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν
ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἠδικούμεθ' ὑπ' ἀλ-
λήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους
ἑωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ᾠόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα
ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ'
ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς
ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονά ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν
οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἠδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ
26 οὐδὲ πέμπτον μέρος τούτων ἐκεῖνα. Ὄλυνθον μὲν

δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριά-
κοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐῶ, ἃς ἁπάσας οὕτως
ὠμῶς ἀνῄρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ᾠκήθησαν
προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων
ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνῃρημένον σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ Θεττα-
λία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις
αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα
μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύω-
σιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦν- 27
ται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθη-
νῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς γράφει "ἐμοὶ
δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομέ-
νους"; καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ
ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον
ἧκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἦλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν
ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσε πρῴην,
οὔθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὔθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χω-
ρεῖ τἀνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες 28
ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ
τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ
κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις
ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμ-
φερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ
συστῆναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐ-
δεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν 29
ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦ-
τον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ'

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ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἤ τινος ἄλλου κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι
30 προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνό γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γε ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ᾽ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονὼς γνήσιος διῴκει τι μὴ καλῶς μηδ᾽ ὀρθῶς, κατ᾽ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δ᾽ οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος
31 τούτων ὧν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ᾽ ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον.

32 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνῃρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει; [κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρόδων

ἐστί, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους
κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ,
παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
ἅπασι μέτεστιν;] γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ 33
τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν
εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρε-
τριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστίδην
καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλ-
ληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν
χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς
ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζε- 34
ται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν
αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοὔσχατον
ἐστίν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ
Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὀμώμοκεν Αἰ-
τωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον ἀφή-
ρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμά- 35
χους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐῶ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρο-
νήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα
τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζό-
μεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες
ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι
τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε,
ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἑκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί
ποιήσειν;

36 *Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ
δικαίας αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἑτοίμως πρὸς
ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν.
ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολ-
λῶν διανοίαις ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν
ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα
καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἡτ-
τᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω
37 καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα. τί
οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων
ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας
ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδο-
κοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον
38 ἐκόλαζον. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἑκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων,
ὃν ἡ τύχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι
παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως
39 τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. νῦν δ' ἅπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς
ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ'
ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ'
ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι, γέλως, ἂν ὁμο-
λογῇ, μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ, τἄλλα πάνθ'
40 ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε
καὶ σωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τἄλλα οἷς ἄν τις ἰσχύειν
τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω*

ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ. ἀλλ' ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἄχρηστα, ἄπρακτα, ἀνόητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου 41
καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς
ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τἀναντία εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω,
οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν
προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ 'κεῖνοι κατέθεντο εἰς
στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. Ἄρθ- 42
μιος, φησίν, ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελείτης ἄτιμος καὶ
πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμά-
χων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται δι'
ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων
εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμ-
ματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διά- 43
νοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ
τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκεῖνοι Ζελείτην τινὰ Ἄρθμιον
δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζέλειά ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας),
ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελο-
πόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους.
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἣν ἄν τις οὑτωσὶ φήσειεν ἀτι- 44
μίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ
μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπ-
ται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ φόνου δικάσασθαι,
καὶ ἄτιμός φησι τεθνάτω. τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθα-
ρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν 45
ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτη-

ρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς
ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ
διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ'
οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὓς αἴσθοιντο ὥστε καὶ στη-
λίτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς
46 Ἕλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς
οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς;
εἴπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.

47 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παρα-
μυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὔπω
Φίλιππός ἐστιν οἷοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἳ
θαλάττης μὲν ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἁπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ
σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ'
ὅμως ἠμύνατο κἀκείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρ-
πάσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἁπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν
εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν
νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ
48 πολέμου κεκινῆσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν
γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς
ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὡραίαν αὐτήν,
ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὁπλί-
ταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ'
οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ
πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ'

οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ
τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλεῖστα 49
τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατά-
ξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον
οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὁπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι
βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους,
τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπὶ 50
τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὑτοῖς προσπέσῃ καὶ
μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανή-
ματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ
χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος
ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδό- 51
τας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλε-
μον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ
τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκ-
τραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι
τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν
μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας δια-
γωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει 52
πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἄν περ, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκεί-
νου χώρας, ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ
κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον
ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἤσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς 53
ἔργοις ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν

ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι
οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν
ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητε ὑπηρετοῦντας
54 ἐκείνοις. ὃ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ
δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τοῦτο ἀφῖχθε
μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις
γάρ ἔμοιγ᾽ ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι
δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας,
φθόνου, σκώμματος, ἧς τινὸς ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ᾽ αἰτίας
ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὧν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι
ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε
55 ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν,
καίπερ ὂν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφα-
λείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς
παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι.
λέξω δ᾽ ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.
56 Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς
μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς
δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσουσιν οἱ πο-
λῖται πράττοντες. πότεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐξώλε-
σαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας προύδοσαν, ὧν προ-
δοθέντων Ὄλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου
φρονοῦντες καὶ ὅτ᾽ ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα
λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως
ὥστε τόν γ᾽ Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο 57
πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ'
ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ
τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν,
οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φί-
λιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον
οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶν-
τες ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβα-
λεῖν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἱππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος 58
αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη πε-
ριεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους,
Ἵππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτ' ἐξελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δὶς ἤδη βουλομέ-
νους σώζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλό-
χου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὠρεῷ Φι- 59
λιστίδης μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ
Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν
ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ᾔδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐ-
φραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδε
οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσον-
ται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προεπη- 60
λακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν·
ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προ-
δότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθό-
μενος ἃ πράττουσιν. συστραφέντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι
πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτα-

νευόμενοι ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτή-
61 ριον ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ'
ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν,
τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν
δ' ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν.
μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης ἠβούλοντο
ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευά-
ζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἴσθοιτο,
ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον, οἷα ἔπαθε,
μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ
πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόν-
τος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ
τείχη προσῄεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν
62 ἠμύνοντο οἱ δὲ προὐδίδοσαν. τῆς δὲ πόλεως οὕτως
ἁλούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ
τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σῴζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν
Εὐφραῖον ἑτοίμους ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν
ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος
ἐκεῖνος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι καὶ
δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθειστή-
κει Φιλίππῳ.

63 Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τοῦ καὶ τοὺς
Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὠρείτας
ἥδιον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ
τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς
μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις
ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ

πράγματ᾽ ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δ᾽
ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.
εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πο- 64
λεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄγειν εἰρήνην. ἕως
ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι
πάνθ᾽, ἵνα μὴ καθ᾽ ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μέν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς
χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σω-
θήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως
οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προΐεντο,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι
ἐνόμιζον. ὃ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικα 65
ἐγὼ μὴ πάθητε ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν ἴδητε ἐκλογιζόμενοι
μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο μὲν τὰ πράγ-
ματ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι δὲ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ
κολακείᾳ τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου. καλήν γ᾽ οἱ πολ- 66
λοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὠρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φι-
λίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὑτούς, τὸν δ᾽ Εὐφραῖον
ἐώθουν· καλήν γ᾽ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς
μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ᾽
ἐνέδωκεν αὑτόν· δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ
σφαττόμενοι. καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν
μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δὲ
Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία τοι- 67
αῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν
ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖ-
σθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδέν, μηδ᾽

68 ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο
αἰσχρόν, ὕστερόν ποτ᾽ εἰπεῖν "τίς γὰρ ἂν ᾠήθη ταῦτα
γενέσθαι; νὴ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι
καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι." πολλὰ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύν-
θιοι νῦν, ἃ τότ᾽ εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο·
πόλλ᾽ ἂν Ὠρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπο-
69 λωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς;
ἕως ἂν σῴζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἄν τε μεῖζον ἄν τ᾽ ἔλατ-
τον ᾖ, τότε χρὴ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ
πάντ᾽ ἄνδρα ἑξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ᾽
ἑκὼν μήτ᾽ ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖ-
σθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχῃ, μάταιος ἡ
70 σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἕως ἐσμὲν σῷοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς
πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον,—τί ποιῶμεν; πά-
λαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσων κάθηται. ἐγὼ νὴ
Δί᾽ ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστε ἂν βούλησθε χειρο-
τονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρα-
σκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώ-
ταις λέγω (καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν
συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθε-
71 ρίας ἀγωνιστέον), ταῦτα δὴ πάντα αὐτοὶ παρα-
σκευασάμενοι καὶ ποιησάντες φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκ-
πέμπωμεν πρέσβεις, ἵν᾽ ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς
ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἄν τι
δέῃ, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν.

ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης 72
πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ'
αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖ-
ναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ
βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν
ἐκεῖνον καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' ἐς Πε-
λοπόννησον ὁρμῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐ- 73
τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς
ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐ-
τοὺς προεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι,
καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων
τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημὶ δεῖν
καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν. αὐτοὺς δὲ παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἕλληνας συγκαλεῖν,
συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν· ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως
ἀξίωμα ἐχούσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε 74
Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς
δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε·
ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ σώζωνται τούτων ἕκαστοι.
ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο
τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν
καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὃ βούλεται ζητῶν 75
ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει
σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὕρῃ τοὺς ποιή-

σοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ πάνθ᾽ ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

76 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἴομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τούτων τι βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. ὅ τι δ᾽ ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ᾽, ὦ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι.

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

INTRODUCTION.

THE First Philippic was delivered late in the year 352 B. C., or early in the year 351. The progress of Philip's conquests and aggressions, which furnished the occasion for it, and whose rapid succession our orator himself has sketched in more than one of his orations (e. g. *Ol.*, I. 12, 13 ; *Phil.*, I. 4 ; *De Cor.*, 69), may be registered chronologically thus : Amphipolis, on the Strymonic Gulf, so tenaciously held by the Athenians as a colony, and so eagerly coveted as a source of supply of timber for their ships, was captured by Philip in 358 (Curtius, V. p. 52 ; Grote, XI. 328), and from that time was held up for many years as a bribe to purchase peace or a rod to compel compliance. Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone, all clustering about the Thermaic Gulf, which lay nearer to Athens (Methone being the last possession of the Athenians on the Macedonian coast), were taken severally in the years 357, 356, and 353. Pagasæ, Pheræ, and Magnesia, lying on or about the still nearer Pagasæan Gulf, and guarding the approaches towards Thermopylæ, all fell into his hands in 353. The same year witnessed also his attempt to pass through Thermopylæ for the destruction of the Phocians. Most of these important places had stood in more or less intimate relations to the Athenians, and were wrested more or less directly from their hands. With his fleet gathered or largely increased by his conquest of these maritime cities, he now plundered the merchantmen of the allies of Athens (as we learn from the oration itself, § 34), landed his troops on the Athenian islands Lemnos and Imbros, carrying off Athenian citizens as prisoners, and even seized their ships at Geræstus in Eubœa, levied immense sums

of money from them, and finally bore away the sacred trireme from Marathon on the coast of Attica over against Athens. "And all this," the orator says, "you were unable to prevent, neither could you despatch succors at the times when you proposed to send them." It was not till Philip, after his successes in Thessaly, marched into Thrace, ejecting some of the kings there, and setting up others as he chose (*Ol.*, I. 13), and commenced the siege of Heræon Teichos (cf. *Phil.*, I. 10, 11, 41 with *Ol.*, III. 4, 5 and Grote, XI. p. 429, note), that the Athenians, alarmed for the safety of their possessions in that quarter, voted to raise an army adequate to oppose any effectual resistance to his encroachments. And when, on the report of Philip's death, or, at any rate, that he was sick, this expedition lingered and dwindled till it finally turned out a miserable abortion (*Ol.*, III. 5, and note there), Demosthenes, then only about thirty years of age, and not yet one of the accepted, still less one of the popular advisers of the Athenian demus, broke silence, and, giving them the counsel which should rather have come from their older and more admired political orators, delivered his first Philippic oration.

In the Argument which is prefixed to this oration in many editions, Libanius says: "The Athenians, unsuccessful in their war with Philip [the war about Amphipolis, so called, which commenced soon after Philip's capture of the city, and *formally* ended only with the Peace of Philocrates, B. C. 346], have convened in assembly in a state of discouragement. The orator accordingly endeavors, in the first place, to remove this discouragement by telling them it is no wonder that they have been defeated, they have been so slothful and negligent of their duty; and, in the second place, he instructs them how they can best carry on the war. He moves them to arm and equip two forces, one larger, consisting of citizens, which shall remain at home and be ready for the exigencies which arise from time to time; the other smaller, consisting partly of citizens and partly of mercenaries, to hover along the coast of Macedonia, and carry on the war incessantly, and thus put an end to Philip's privateering and conquering expeditions."

The orator apologizes for the smallness of the force, which he recommends, by an explicit acknowledgment (§ 23) that it was impossible for the Athenians now to furnish a force that could meet Philip on the field of battle; hence it was necessary, at present, to adopt this guerilla warfare. Knowing his countrymen, as he also knew Philip, only too well, he adapts his advice to their character and the present necessity, and, like a wise counsellor and far-seeing statesman as well as zealous patriot, he at once alarms and encourages them; he points out at once the causes of their present weakness and the sources of their possible future strength. He proposes a definite, a feasible, and, it would seem, a wise plan which he might well hope they would not only vote, but execute, and, by executing, gain courage and strength for greater undertakings. Yet his advice was not followed; neither of the two measures which he recommended was carried into effect; the working armament was not sent out, nor was the home-force ever got ready. It was not until the following month of September (the oration being delivered some time in the first half of 351 B. C.*) that any actual force was sent against Philip; and even then nothing more was done than to send the mercenary chief Charidemus to the Chersonese, with ten triremes and five talents in money, but no soldiers. The Athenians were invincibly averse to any efforts and sacrifices which were not indispensably necessary; the older orators of the peace party, Eubulus and Demades, with the support of Phocion, had the popular ear, and were not anxious to yield it to a young and dangerous rival; and there were already partisans of Philip (§ 18) who were as ready to influence the popular mind in his favor as they were to report to their Macedonian master all that was done at Athens.

But the oration is, for all this, none the less worthy of our admiration and study. "It is," as Grote justly remarks (XI. 440), "not merely a splendid piece of oratory, emphatic and forcible in its appeal to the emotions, bringing the audience by

* So Grote (XI. 443), with the essential concurrence of Curtius (V. 274) and Whiston (I. 78). Thirlwall (II. 104) accepts the more commonly received date, 352.

many different roads to the main conviction which the orator wishes to impress, profoundly animated with genuine Pan-hellenic patriotism and with the dignity of that free Grecian world now threatened by a monarch from without. It has other merits besides, not less important in themselves, and lying more immediately within the scope of the historian. We find Demosthenes, yet only thirty years old, young in political life, and thirteen years before the battle of Chæronea, taking accurate measure of the political relations between Athens and Philip ; examining those relations during the past, pointing out how they had become every year more unfavorable, and foretelling the dangerous contingencies of the future, unless better precautions were taken ; exposing with courageous frankness, not only the past mismanagement of public men, but also defective dispositions of the people themselves, wherein such management had its root ; lastly, after fault found, adventuring on his own responsibility to propose specific measures of correction, and urging upon reluctant citizens a painful imposition of personal hardship as well as of taxation. We shall find him insisting on the same obligation, irksome alike to the leading politicians and to the people (§ 51), throughout all the Olynthiacs and Philippics. We note his warnings given at this early day, when timely prevention would have been practicable ; and his superiority to older politicians, like Eubulus and Phocion, in prudent appreciation, in foresight, and in the courage of speaking out unpalatable truths. The first Philippic alone is sufficient to prove how justly Demosthenes lays claim to the merit of 'having seen events in their beginnings,' and given timely warning to his countrymen (*De Cor.*, 246). It will also go to show, along with other proofs hereafter to be seen, that he was not less honest and judicious in his attempts to fulfil the remaining portion of a statesman's duty, that of working up his countrymen to unanimous and resolute enterprise ; to the pitch requisite not merely for speaking and voting, but for acting and suffering, against the common enemy."

Before reading this first Philippic of Demosthenes, the student should endeavor to reproduce in his mind's eye, not only the

circumstances, but the scene, the time, the place, the audience, and the orator; for they were all quite extraordinary.

The time was extraordinary. It was a decisive moment in the history of Athens and of Greece. Nay, more, it was a great crisis in the history of the world. A power was rising in the North and rapidly advancing southward, which threatened, first, to subvert the liberties of Greece, and then to bestride Europe, Asia, and Africa like a colossus, obliterating old empires, changing the fate of nations, and introducing a new epoch in human history. It was the same power which rose up in prophetic vision before the eyes of Hebrew seers in the form now of a winged leopard, and now of a he-goat, coming from the west, overrunning the East, traversing the face of the whole earth without touching the ground, and casting down and trampling under foot whatever came in its way. At the time when this oration was delivered, as we have seen, city after city, which were but lately the possessions or the allies of Athens, had already fallen into the hands of the king of Macedon; and now to name them was to mark the successive steps of his progress, now they were so many magazines and batteries for new assaults, so many *ἐπιτειχίσματα*, as the Greeks would call them, for further conquests. He had indeed met with a temporary check at Thermopylæ, and was now in Thrace. But he was still extending his acquisitions, and threatening the possessions of Athens in that quarter; and the Athenians, disheartened, but by no means awake to the extent of their danger, were just now in that strange state of mingled anxiety and apathy from which only a prophet's foresight and eloquence could arouse them, and only the wisdom and guidance of a faithful and trusted statesman could deliver them.

The place was extraordinary. It was Athens, the watch-tower of old Hellas; but, alas! her most trusted watchmen were now asleep, if some of them were not even in sympathy and alliance with the enemy, — Athens, immortalized at Marathon and Platæa and Artemisium and Salamis as the defender of the liberties of Greece, but now, alas! degenerate, if some of the leading men were not even false to the principles and spirit of their illus-

trious ancestors. The particular spot which was the scene of this oration, and the centre of political influence in Athens, was the Pnyx. And this was no ordinary senate-house, no parliament-house, or congressional chamber, or other common hall of assembly. The Pnyx was one of the four hills on and around which Athens was built, and not less famous or sacred in its way than the Areopagus or the Acropolis itself, being the representative of the politics and government of Athens as those other world-renowned hills were the representatives severally of its law and its religion. The Pnyx proper was a large semicircular area, partly hewn out of the solid rock and partly built up on a massive Pelasgic wall upon the abrupt face of this hill, where all the citizens of Athens and Attica were wont to assemble, beneath no roof but the clear blue sky, and within no walls but the distant, lofty, bold and purple-tinted mountains, — there, not by their representatives, but in person, not in a council consisting at most of a few hundreds, but in an assembly of thousands, to deliberate on public affairs and transact the business of the state. The rostra or bema from which the orator spoke, and to which he ascended by eight or ten steps, hewn out of the rock, was a square platform, a dozen or fifteen feet high, itself also hewn out of the solid rock, in the middle of the chord of that semicircle, to speak mathematically, or, speaking more exactly and popularly, occupying the same position in reference to the area of the Pnyx and the seats of the assembly which the hand and eye of the archer do when he takes hold of the string and begins to draw it back and round out the bow, and takes sight along the arrow before he lets it fly. That bema looked directly down upon the Pnyx, and more remotely upon the agora and the whole city. It looked over to the Areopagus with its venerable council and court, and to the Acropolis, crowned with temples and statues of the gods. It looked around upon Athens and Attica, upon Hymettus and Pentelicus, just behind which was the plain of Marathon ; upon Parnes and Cithæron, beyond which were Platæa and Artemisium and Thermopylæ ; upon Piræus and Salamis and Eleusis and Megara and Corinth and Argolis and all the cities and islands and harbors and prom-

ontories of the Saronic Gulf; and all these not more beautiful to the eye of the orator and his audience as they flashed in the brightness of a Grecian sun, than they were radiant with the brighter glories of Athenian history. Never before was there a bema in itself so full of inspiration to speaker and hearers, and there has never been one like it since.

And never before nor since has there been such an audience, — an audience comprising the mass of the Athenian people, in whose hands were concentred all the powers of legislative, judicial, and executive government, educated to a man, of acute understanding, of cultivated taste, difficult to please, requiring to be instructed like a senate, and yet to be amused as in the theatre, canvassing measures like statesmen and criticising words like rhetoricians, played on by demagogues like an instrument of thousand strings by a skilful musician, and at the same time swaying over sea and land the sceptre of a government scarcely less absolute and arbitrary, perhaps even more capricious, than that of an Oriental despot.

And the orator was quite as peculiar, quite as remarkable as the audience. Small in stature, slender in form, deficient in muscular development, but from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot instinct with thought and feeling, temperate in all his habits, a water-drinker when everybody else drank wine, one of those thin men whom tyrants fear and proscribe because they think too much, further attenuated, mayhap, by study and toil, a solitary man while all the Athenians spent their time in talking, laughing, and hearing "*something newer*," a watchful, anxious, incorruptible patriot among corrupt demagogues and in the midst of a pleasure-seeking people, he was always and altogether different from those around him. And when he rose to speak, full of his subject, bearing on his heart the liberties of his country, — when, burning with zeal for the right and indignation at all wrong, he hurled his thunderbolts at traitors and tyrants, — his hearers felt that there was in him something *prodigious*, something strangely bewitching and overpowering, if not even something more than human. Hence the oft-cited exclamation of Æschines to those who marvelled at the speech of

Demosthenes as read to them by his rival, "You should have heard the monster himself!" In like manner Dionysius of Halicarnassus says: "When I read one of the speeches of Isocrates, I am disposed to serene and tranquil thought, like those who listen to spondaic measures or Dorian or Lydian melodies; but when I take up an oration of Demosthenes, I am inspired like the Corybants at the Mysteries of Cybele, and I am borne hither and thither with anxiety, fear, contempt, hatred, pity, anger, good-will, and all the varied passions of the orator."

This matchless orator was now a young man, at the very commencement of his remarkable public life. From early childhood to mature manhood he has had to contend with difficulties which would have discouraged and overwhelmed any ordinary character. Orphanage, dishonest guardians, imperfect education, constitutional defects and impediments, jealous rivals and bitter personal enemies, — everything has been against him. He has conquered all these difficulties, baffled his enemies, mastered himself, triumphed over nature and adverse circumstances, turned failure and opposition into helps and means of victory. But now he is to enter upon the great battle of his life. Now he has to contend not only with Philip and his conquering legions. The ablest generals, the most eloquent orators, the oldest and most experienced statesmen, the most admired and trusted counsellors of Athens, are for the most part against him. The Athenians themselves, in their character and habits, are against him. The spirit of the people, all the tendencies of the age, not only at Athens but in all Greece, are against him. In order to succeed he must work a miracle; he must breathe life into the ribs of death itself. He knows this, he feels it in his inmost soul. Yet he does not despair, he does not even hesitate. The people have gathered in crowds from the city and the country and filled the Pnyx. The Κήρυξ cries, "Who wishes to speak?" Without waiting for any of the older orators and usual leaders of the people, Demosthenes rises from his seat, comes forward, ascends the bema, and delivers the oration which we are about to read. We know it was not successful; the orator failed to accomplish his object. We know that he was

destined to fail in his heroic struggle for the liberties of his country. But he fell as heroes fall, he died as martyrs die, not with those miserable words profit and success on his lips, but with his banner blazoned all over with duty, honor, liberty, and glory. Few scenes in history are more striking, few more suggestive of the moral sublime, few more fruitful in lessons of wisdom and duty to young men, than the appearance of Demosthenes on the Athenian bema for the delivery of his First Philippic.

Analysis.

The following skeleton exhibits an outline of the plan and general divisions of the oration: —

A. Exordium (§ 1).

B. Encouragement drawn from discouragement and from the past history of Athens and of Philip (2 – 12).

C. Measures recommended. Plan of the campaign (13 – 22).

D. Reasons for this plan (23 – 27).

E. Ways and Means (28 – 30).

F. Topographical suggestions (31, 32).

G. The probable results of this course, in contrast with the wretched state of things now existing at Athens (33 – 46).

H. How shall this state of things be brought to an end (47 – 50)?

I. Conclusion (51).

NOTES.

A. Exordium: Apology for speaking first (**1**).

§ **1.** If the subject under discussion had been a new one, I would have waited for your usual advisers to speak first. But since they have often given their advice on this very subject, and that not satisfactory, else there would be no need of your present consultation, I may reasonably expect to be pardoned for opening the debate.

1. Page 1, line 1. Both in thought and in language this introductory sentence is a good illustration of the art which is so perfect that it conceals the art. Under cover of a modest and harmless apology for himself and a graceful compliment to his audience, the orator, in his very first sentence, lets fly a polished shaft at the policy of their favorite counsellors. At the same time, while the sentence seems to be perfectly simple and natural, the words are selected with exquisite taste, the clauses are measured as it were with square and compass, and the whole period is constructed with consummate skill. In the first place, the whole sentence is divided into two antithetic and well-balanced members distinguished by *εἰ μέν* and *ἐπειδὴ δέ* (C. 685 c; Cu. 628; H. 862). Then the first member is divided into a protasis and an apodosis; and the apodosis, beginning with *ἐπισχὼν ἄν*, contains two subordinate alternative conditions, distinguished by *εἰ μέν* and *εἰ δὲ μή*, and followed by two corresponding alternative conclusions (...*ἂν ἧγον*, and *ἂν ἐπειρώμην*...), each of which is marked by the particle *ἄν*. *ἐπισχὼν ἄν* is equivalent to *ἐπέσχον ἂν καί* (C. 658 a; Cu. 595; G. 211; H. 803),*

* The grammars of Crosby, Curtius, Goodwin, and Hadley are thus referred to, as in the Notes on the Olynthiacs and the De Corona.

only the participle ἐπισχών is distinctly *preliminary* to the verb ἦγον. The past tenses of the indicative with εἰ in the protasis and ἄν in the apodosis express a supposition contrary to the fact (C. 631, b; Cu. 537; G. 222; H. 746). The use of the imperfect (instead of the pluperfect or aorist) throughout the protasis and the apodosis (προὐτίθετο, ἤρεσκε, ἦγον, ἐπειρώμην) expresses a *continued* action or state instead of a completed or momentary one. The prytanes or proëdri, or whoever *brought forward* the subject or *laid* the question *before* the people, gave an opportunity to speak not only at the moment when the herald cried, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται, but *during the whole* time that the subject was under consideration. See Sauppe ad loc. — **Εἰ...προὐτίθετο,** *if it were some new subject, gentlemen of Athens, which was laid* (and is still lying) *before us for discussion, I should have waited until the most of those who are accustomed* to do so *had expressed their opinion, and then, if*, etc. It was the especial prerogative of the prytanes and particularly of the *proëdri* to bring matters before the ecclesia for their consideration and action. Dic. of Antiq. art. βουλή. Cf. Isoc., VIII. 15: περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασι. But the state, and the people, and even private individuals, are sometimes said in a more general sense προτιθέναι λόγον. After εἰωθότων supply γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι from γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο. The reference is to Eubulus and Phocion and other leaders of the peace-party, who were older than Demosthenes, and had been accustomed to guide the Athenian populace (Curtius, V. 142, 444; Grote, XI. 443). Demosthenes was now only thirty, and might well apologize for proposing a plan of his own without waiting for or even consulting orators who had so long swayed the people, and who were advocates of a more popular policy. According to the law of Solon, persons of over fifty years of age were called upon to speak first in the assemblies of the people. Æsch. con. Ctes. 4. This had become obsolete. Aristoph. Acharn. 43. Still, for the sake of good order and good feeling, the older statesmen would usually speak first. We have in *De Cor.*, 170 a graphic description of the herald calling again and again τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται, and when all the orators and all the generals were speechless, Demosthenes comes forward not only first but alone to give his advice in the perilous emergency. — 5. **ἃ γιγνώσκω** = γνώμην, *my sentiments*. — 6. **ἐπειδὴ δέ** introduces the second member of the antithesis, and sets over against the supposition and conclusion of the first member a similarly balanced fact and inference

from it. — **ὑπὲρ ὧν,** al. *περὶ ὧν*. The former has the preference as the more difficult or improbable reading, besides being found in the best MSS. and editions. The difference is not essential, and the prepositions are used almost interchangeably. Properly *περί* is *about*, hence *in regard to*, and *ὑπέρ* is *over*, hence *in behalf of: but since it so happens that we are now considering interests in behalf of which these men have spoken many times before, I am led to believe that though I have risen first I may reasonably expect to meet with indulgence.* For *ἀναστάς*, the participle expressing condition, see C. 635; Cu. 583; G. 226; H. 751. For *καί* = *even though*, C. 674, f; Cu. 537, 5; H. 795, f. — 9. **ἐκ…χρόνου,** strictly *from* past time, having reference to the *beginning* of the time; but in usage = *in* or *during*.

B. Encouragement and exhortation to united and vigorous action (2–12).

2–12. YOU SHOULD DRAW ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE VERY WRETCHEDNESS OF YOUR STATE; FOR IT IS ALL THE RESULT OF YOUR INACTION, AND THEREFORE CAN BE REMEDIED BY ACTION. REMEMBER HOW NOBLY AND SUCCESSFULLY YOU RESISTED THE LACEDÆMONIANS AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR POWER. SEE HOW PHILIP HAS WON HIS CONQUESTS, AND RECOVER YOUR LOST POSSESSIONS AND ALLIES BY SIMILAR ENERGY. THEY INCLINE TO YOU RATHER THAN TO HIM. GIVE THEM A CHANCE, AND THEY WILL SOON SLIP AWAY FROM HIM. HELP YOURSELVES, AND GODS AND MEN WILL HELP YOU. WHEN *WILL* YOU DO YOUR DUTY IF NOT NOW? TO FREE MEN THERE IS NO NECESSITY SO DIRE AS DISHONOR, AND NO DISHONOR LIKE BEING SUBJECT TO A MAN OF MACEDON.

2. 11. **Πρῶτον μέν,** correlative to *ἔπειτα*, § 3. Take courage, *first*, from the very wretchedness of your state; *secondly*, from your past history, etc. — **οὖν,** not inferential, but continuative or transitional from the exordium to the body of the speech. So *Ol.*, I. 2; II. 3; III. 3, and often. — 12. **τοῖς…πράγμασιν,** *at* or *by the present state of things*. Verbs expressing an emotion of pleasure, displeasure, or the like are followed by a dative of the object, cause, or ground of the emotion. Madv.* 44; C. 456; Cu. 439; H. 611. — **οὐδ'** = *not even*. — 13. **ὃ γὰρ…ὑπάρχει,** *for that which is the worst in regard to them in the past, this promises to become* (or *is capable of becoming*) *the best for the future.* This logic of common-sense, so paradoxical and yet so just and *well put*, is repeated in *Phil.*, III. 5; and in *Ol.*, I. 4,

* Madvig's Syntax

the orator extracts encouragement from the most formidable of Philip's resources by a similar argument. — 15. **τί...τοῦτο.** The superior vivacity and force of this rhetorical question (which the orator asks himself or supposes his hearers to ask) over the logical γάρ, which might have connected the two clauses, is observed by Greek rhetoricians. Demosthenes is fond of this figure. — **ὅτι οὐδέν, κ. τ. λ.**, *it is that your affairs are in a bad condition, because you do* (lit. while you are doing) *nothing that ought to be done.* — 17. **ἐπεί τοι, κ. τ. λ.**, *for verily, if, while you were performing your whole duty, they were thus, there would be no hope of their becoming better.* — 3. 19. **ἔπειτα, κ. τ. λ.**, *in the second place, you ought to consider both you who hear it from others and you who know it from personal remembrance*, i. e. both the younger and the older members of the assembly. — **ὑμῖν** is understood as the agent of ἐνθυμητέον. C. 458, 682 ; Cu. 434 ; G. 281 ; H. 600. — **ἀναμιμνησκομένοις** denotes the manner and means of knowing. C. 674 ; Cu. 581 ; G. 277 ; H. 789.

P. 2, l. 2. **ἡλίκην...ὡς**, lit. *when the Lacedæmonians once were in possession of how much power, how nobly and becomingly*, etc. The use of the double relative or interrogative in a single clause is not unfrequent in Greek. We make two clauses, and use a verb instead of the participle: *how much power the Lacedæmonians once possessed and yet how nobly and becomingly*, etc. — 3. **ἐξ οὗ...πολύς**, *not long since*, a kind of adverbial clause, hence the verb ἔστι is usually omitted, but not always, as Heslop affirms. See Franke in loc. The historical reference is perhaps to the repulse of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, by the combined forces of the Athenians and Thebans under Chabrias and Gorgidas. "These events would doubtless be in the recollection of many of the hearers of Demosthenes, when twenty-seven years after he delivered his first Philippic." Whiston. — **ὡς προσηκόντως**, i. e. how *befitting* them as the professed and acknowledged champions of the rights and liberties of the Greeks. — 5. **ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων**, *in behalf of the rights.* Ἑλληνικῶν is of course understood, but need not be expressed. It is found in *Ol.*, II. 24, and is added here in some MSS. and editions, but not the most or the best. — **ἐκείνους**, more emphatic than αὐτούς, THEM, powerful as they were. — 6. **εἰδῆτε... καὶ θεάσησθε**, *that you may know and see clearly*, as it were with the clearness of ocular vision. Demosthenes was so fond of such *pairs* of kindred words, that Greek critics censured and ridiculed him for it. Cf. Rehdantz in loc. See also *De Cor.*, 4, and note there. It is a

species of rhetorical amplification and emphasis which suited the intensity of the orator's mind and the earnestness of his spirit. The interposition of *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* between the two words is also frequent, as Whiston suggests, and adds to the emphasis. — 7. **ουδὲν οὔτε...οὔτ'.** *οὐδέν* is the subject of both clauses, and the correlation and contrast of the two is emphasized by *οὔτε...οὔτ'*: *both that nothing is to be feared by you while you are on your guard, and that nothing will be as you would have it if you are negligent.* — **φυλαττομένοις**, lit. *being on your guard*, implies condition. C. 635; Cu. 583; G. 226; H. 751. — 9. **παραδείγμασι.** The success of the Athenians in overcoming the Lacedæmonians *illustrated* the first proposition, viz. that they had nothing to fear so long as they were on the watch; and the present insolence of Philip demonstrated the second, to wit, that nothing would be as they would have it if they were negligent. — 10. **τῇ τότε, τῇ νῦν,** C. 526; Cu. 381; H. 534. — 13. **ὧν ἐχρῆν,** sc. *φροντίζειν*, *from our caring nothing for what we ought*, sc. to have cared. — 4. 15. **σκοπῶν, κ. τ. λ.,** *when he looks at the greatness of his present military power on the one hand and on the other* (*τε . καί*) *at the loss of all the places by our state.* — **δυνάμεως** is usually *force, army*, in Demosthenes. Philip was at this time (in the Sacred War) at the head of an army of 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse. Grote, XI. 410; Thirlwall, II. 98; Curtius, V. 77. — 16. **τὰ χωρία,** *the* places so well known and soon to be named. — 17. **ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται, κ. τ. λ.** See a similar argument and construction, *Ol.*, II. 22, *σώφρονος μέν, κ. τ. λ.*, and elsewhere. — **μέντοι,** *yet*, or *however*, opposed to *μέν*. So *Ol.*, III. 2. See note, *De Cor.*, 12. — 18. **Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Μεθώνην,** often named as *sore* places in the orations of Demosthenes, and always in the order of their capture by Philip. See special Introduction, p. 51, for the places and dates. — **καὶ...καὶ...καί.** Franke calls attention to the polysyndeton, i. e. the repetition of the connective. Asyndeton, entire omission of the connective, is more frequent. *Ol.*, I. 9; *De Cor.*, 69, 237, et al. The former gives weight and magnitude, the latter vivacity and rapidity. — **πάντα...κύκλῳ,** i. e. the whole country about the Thermaic Gulf. See Map. — **οἰκεῖον,** *as our own.* Literally and with the order and emphasis of the Greek: WE *once...held all that region* AS OUR OWN *round about.* Placed before *κύκλῳ*, according to Rehdantz, to avoid hiatus and rhythmical feebleness. — 20. **μετ' ἐκείνου,** *on his side.* — 21. **αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.** Observe the pair: *independent and free.* The Pæonians and Illyrians are specified as such nations

in *Ol.*, I. 23, where see the same words and the same argument. — 5. 23. **ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην**, *got the idea* (Heslop); *taken it into his head* (Kennedy), quite different from εἶχε. — 25. **ἐπιτειχίσματα**, *fortresses held as points of attack.* Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone were on the coast of Macedon, and commanded the country. So in *De Cor.*, 87, Eubœa is called *κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμόν*, and so Deceleia was held by the Lacedæmonians as an *ἐπιτείχισμα* against Athens in the hence called Decelean War. See Whiston's note ad loc. — **χώρας** is objective genitive = *against* or *in respect to his own country.* — 26. **πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν**, *he would have done nothing of what he has now accomplished.* For the distinction between these words, see note *Ol.*, III. 15.

P. 3, l. 2. **κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ**, a metaphor drawn from the games where the prizes are placed in some central and conspicuous place in the arena. Hom., *Il.*, XVIII. 507, XXIII. 273. Heslop renders: *offered to competition.* — 3. **φύσει ὑπάρχει**, *naturally belong.* Such apothegms, or *gnomes*, abound in our orator, and are expressed with much brevity and point. — **6.** 6. **χρησάμενος**, *by acting* on this principle, strictly *having* acted on it, the aor. part. distinctly implying that such action or application was *preliminary* to the conquests. — 7. **τὰ μέν**, lit. *some as one would hold places after having taken them in war;* more concisely and idiomatically: *some as military conquests, others as allies and friends.* — 9. **καὶ προσέχειν...ἅπαντες.** The commentators generally notice these words as forming a hexameter line. Such lines, of which they instance not a few, probably slipped from him unconsciously. See Cic., *Or.*, 56, 169. — **7.** 11-13. **ἂν... νῦν**, *if therefore you also will adopt the same principle now.* — 13. **καὶ ἕκαστος**, *and if each one of you, giving up all evasion, would be ready to act where he ought and wherever he can make himself useful to the state.* — 16. **εἰσφέρειν.** This is the technical word for the extraordinary war-tax or contribution (*εἰσφοραί*) which was paid by the 1,200 richest Athenians, who were divided into classes (*συμμορίαι*) for that purpose. See note *Ol.*, II. 29, and references there. — 17. **ἐν ἡλικίᾳ**, *in (of) the military age*, sc. from 18 to 60. See *Ol.*, I. 28. — **συνελόντι δ' ἁπλῶς**, *to speak concisely.* *ὡς* often precedes the part. when thus used. See explanation in Lex. L. & S.; C. 671 c; Cu. 435; G. 184, 5; H. 601; Madv. 38 c. — 18. **ὑμῶν αὐτῶν...γένεσθαι**, *become your own masters.* Cf. *Ol.*, II. 30, and note there. Gen. of possession. C. 443; H. 572, c. — 19. **οὐδέν** instead of *μηδέν* in a con-

ditional clause, because the force of the conditional particle (ἄν) is intended to fall chiefly on the next clause, while this clause states a *fact* = *while* each one hopes to do nothing himself. — 20. **καὶ... κομιεῖσθε,** *you will both secure your own possessions, if God will, and get back again what has been thrown away by sheer neglect.* For κομιεῖσθε, cf. *Ol.*, II. 28, where it is said of securing or receiving back Amphipolis. On ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, see *Ol.*, II. 20 and note there. Heslop reads ἐθέλῃ here, but the editions generally have θέλῃ, and the editors generally agree that the shorter form of this verb is used of the *gods* even after a word ending with a consonant. Cf. Sauppe and Dindorf in loc. Several commentators call attention to the contrast between the κατά in κατερρᾳθυμημένα and the ἀνά in ἀναλήψεσθε and the pleonasm in πάλιν with the ἀνά. The two clauses of the apodosis are not tautology, but an emphatic reduplication of kindred ideas, resembling the pairs of kindred words which our author is so fond of using. — 8. 24. **ἀθάνατα,** proleptic: *that his present power is secured to him as to a god in everlasting possession.* Heslop. — **ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις,** *nay, many a one even of those who seem to be very friendly to him both hates and fears and envies him.* τις, our *many a one*, as often in Homer, e. g. *Il.*, III. 297. The reference is to the Illyrians, Pæonians, and other allies of Philip. Cf. *Ol.*, I. 23; II. 15. — 26. **ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ** take their true meaning and interpretation from the μισεῖν, δέδιεν, and φθονεῖ which precede: all the hates and fears and envies and jealousies, — all the feelings, passions, and motives, — ALL *the elements of human nature*, WHATEVER THEY MAY BE, *which exist in other men.* The omission of the substantive makes the language more comprehensive and emphatic without making it obscure in its connection. The fact that the orator felt under the necessity of making such remarks as this, and that which immediately precedes, shows the almost superstitious awe and dread which Philip had inspired at Athens.

P. 4, l. 1. **κατέπτηχε μέντοι,** *now, however, all these are cowed down, having no place of refuge.* Observe the emphatic position of κατέπτηχε. It is especially applied to timid animals *crouching* in their lair. See Whiston in loc. — **ἤδη,** emphatic in position as well as in signification, *forthwith.* Heslop renders *at once;* Whiston *immediately.* — 9. 5. **ἀσελγείας,** here *insolence.* Partitive gen. denoting degree. C. 416; Cu. 412; G. 168; H. 559 c. — **ἄνθρωπος,** *the man*, bitter with a mixture of hatred and contempt. — 6. **ὃς οὐδ',**

who does not even. — 7. **ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν**, almost exactly our idiom: *keep quiet.* — 8. **ὥς φασιν.** So in *Ol.*, I. 22, he reports what he *hears* from others in regard to Philip. — 8. **οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν**, *and is not the man to rest in the possession of what he has conquered, but is ever trying to compass something more, and is throwing his net round about us on every side while we procrastinate and sit still.* οἷος is different from *οἷός τε. οἷός ἐστιν = βούλεται καὶ προῄρηται, οἷός τ' ἐστιν = δύναται.* Harpocrates cited by Franke, cf. *οἷαί τε*, § 37. — **περιστοιχίζεται** is a metaphor drawn from hunters who fix poles or stakes (*στοῖχοι*) in the ground and then stretch their nets upon them to prevent the escape of the wild beasts they are pursuing. So all the commentators. Heslop finds in *προσπεριβάλλεται* also a hunting metaphor. But Whiston says, it is apparently borrowed from a person wrapping a mantle or cloak about himself. This is the prevailing use of *περιβάλλεσθαι.* Thucydides (V. 2) uses *προσπεριβάλλειν*, of throwing a wall about a city; and Isocrates (198 E) uses the middle voice of throwing a wall about one's self. — **10.** 11. **πότ'...πότε**, cf. *ἔστιν... ἔστιν*, *Ol.*, I. 19, and note there. Observe the increase of the emphasis by the interposition of *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.* So also between *pairs* of kindred words, cf. note, § 3, above. — **ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται**, *when what shall have happened*, sc. will you do your duty = what event, what disaster *will* rouse you? The double interrogative again, cf. note § 3 above. The rapid series of interrogations in this section well illustrates the remark of Robert Hall quoted in the general Introduction, p. xiv. — 13. **ἐπειδὰν...ᾖ**, *whenever there is a necessity, forsooth.* — **νὴ Δία** is ironical. Heslop and Kennedy render it, *I suppose.* — **νῦν δέ.** *νῦν* qualifies *γιγνόμενα* especially, but influences also the whole question by its emphatic position at the beginning: *but* NOW *what ought we to think of things that are now taking place.* — 14. **ἐγὼ μέν**, *I for my part*, whatever may be the opinion of others. L. & S. Lex. *μέν*, 7. — 16. **ἤ**, interrogative, involves the antithesis to the preceding *μέν*: *or* if *you* do not think so, *do you wish?* See explanation and examples in Lex. *ἤ* interrogative, 2. — **εἰπέ** like *ἄγε* and *φέρε* is used irrespective of the number of persons addressed. C. 656. It brings the question home to each hearer. — 17. **αὐτῶν** is gen. of source after *πυνθάνεσθαι*, and is used instead of *ἀλλήλων*, as it often is. So in English we can say, *inquire among yourselves*, or *inquire of one another.* Longinus (18) quotes the passage, doubtless from memory, with *ἀλλήλων* instead of *αὐτῶν.* Some editions (Bekker, Dindorf, Whiston, but

in brackets) read *κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν* after *πυνθάνεσθαι*: do you wish to go about and inquire of one another *in the agora.* — **λέγεταί τι καινόν,** *is there any news?* — **γένοιτο γάρ,** *yes, indeed, for could there be any greater news?* Heslop renders *γάρ* by *why*, expressive of surprise and impatience. The author of the Acts of the Apostles shows his acquaintance with the character and habits of the Athenians when he represents them as spending their time in nothing else than telling and hearing *τι καινότερον* (Acts xvii. 21). — 18. **Μακεδὼν ἀνήρ,** contemptuous, like *ἄνθρωπος* above, § 9, and perhaps *τούτου*, § 3. See *Ol.*, III. 16; *Phil.*, III. 31, and general Introduction, p. vii. — 19. **καταπολεμῶν** = Lat. debellans. Virgil: debellare superbos. Rehdantz. — 20. **διοικῶν,** *managing*, lit. as if it were his own house and property. — **11.** 20. **ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ** is printed as a question by Heslop and some others. But in most editions it is an answer to the preceding question. "Is Philip dead?" asks some one of the idle, but curious Athenians in the agora. "No, indeed, but he is sick," answers another and would-be wiser citizen. "But what is the difference to you?" adds Demosthenes, ridiculing and censuring both. — 21. **καὶ γὰρ...πάθῃ,** *for even should anything happen to this Philip, you will immediately create another, if you attend to your affairs in this way.* — **ἄν τι πάθῃ,** like the Latin si quid humani acciderit, is an euphemism for *should he die.* — 24. **οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρά,** *for even this man has not been exalted so much through*, etc. — **οὐδέ** is an emphatic negative. — **παρά** = *through.* Arnold, in his note on Thuc., I. 141, *παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀμέλειαν*, says, "This is exactly expressed in vulgar English, 'all along of his own neglect.'" See Heslop and Whiston in loc. Franke compares the Latin *propter* and *juxta*, and says, it is as if the growth of Philip's power *ran parallel* to the negligence of the Athenians. — 25. **καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο,** *and yet this also is to be considered.* — **12.** 26. **εἴ τι πάθοι** instead of *ἄν τι πάθῃ*, as above, because here the supposition is to be stated more generally and less vividly, with a more indefinite and less positive result (G. 220, b); or, as Whiston states the difference, *ἄν τι πάθῃ* expresses the *not improbable* contingency of death *as the consequence of illness*, whereas *εἴ τι πάθοι* expresses the more *remote* and *improbable* contingency of the same event, *independent of any proximate or anticipated cause.* C. 631, c; Cu. 545; H. 747. — 26. **καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης...ἐξεργάσαιτο,** *and if the favor of fortune, which always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves, should accomplish this also for us.* — **καὶ τοῦτ',** *this also,*

etc., the death of Philip, to crown her other favors. Heslop. Cf. *Ol.*, II. 2, and note there.

P. 5, l. 1. **ἴσθ'**, for ἴστε, *be assured that, being close at hand, you might step in when all things were in confusion* (lit. *upon* all things in confusion) *and manage them just as you please.* — 3. **οὐδὲ δ.δόντων,** *not even if circumstances offered you Amphipolis.* C. 635; Cu. 583; G. 226; H. 751. So ὄντες above implies a condition. Demosthenes here, perhaps, alludes to Philip's surrender of Amphipolis on his accession to the throne, and the neglect of his countrymen to avail themselves of the opportunity. Grote, XI. 305. Whiston. — 5. **ἀπηρτημένοι** is here the opposite of πλησίον ὄντες, and so means *remote* (lit. hanging off). — **καὶ ..γνώμαις,** *both in your preparations and in your purposes*, i. e. as far from having *resolved* as from being *prepared* to carry on the war.

C. Measures recommended (**13–22**).

13–22. Hear me with patience, and without prejudice at the novelty of my plan, while I proceed to state the kind of military preparation which I recommend. First furnish fifty triremes for carrying foot-soldiers, together with the necessary transports for half of the city cavalry, and be in readiness to embark in person as soldiers, and sail at any moment either to repel the sudden incursions of Philip upon our possessions, or to make inroads upon his territory, as occasion may offer. Besides, get in readiness a small force, such as you can not only vote but actually raise, say two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, one fourth of whom at least shall be Athenians, with transports and ten swift triremes, to harass the enemy continually, and carry on a constant warfare with him.

13. 7. **Ὡς μὲν οὖν, κ. τ. λ.** The Greek order is so expressive and artistic here that it may well be preserved even at some expense to our English idiom: *That you ought then to be entirely willing to do your duty all of you promptly, presuming that you are convinced and persuaded of it, I cease to urge.* — **ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν** is stronger than ἐθέλειν. See Rehdantz in loc. Heslop renders: there ought *to exist a readiness.* — **ὡς...πεπεισμένων.** ὡς subjective = *presuming that.* C. 680; Cu. 588; G. 280, N. 4; H. 795 e; Madv. 182. — 10. **ἀπαλλάξαι ἄν,** *would deliver*, sc. if voted and raised. C. 658 a; Cu. 575; G. 211; H. 783. — **ἀπαλλάξαι...οἴομαι** is to be understood with πλῆθος

ὅσον and *πόρους οὕστινας* in the same way as with *τρόπον ἥν*: *the kind of armament and the number of men and the supplies of money which I think would deliver us from such a state, and how the other requisites might, as it seems to me, be best and most expeditiously provided, I will now also* (or *even now*, i. e. *at once*, Heslop; Franke, *statim*) *endeavor to tell.* — 14. 15. **κρίνατε** (aor.) denotes a momentary, *προλαμβάνετε* (pres.) a continued action: *form your judgment when you have heard all I have to say: don't be prejudging as I go on.* Madv. 141. Heslop. Some copies insert *καί* before *μή*. — **πρότερον,** sc. before you have heard, defines as well as emphasizes the *προ-*. — 16. **μηδ'...λέγειν,** *nor if I seem to any one to be recommending an entirely new force.* — **ἐξ ἀρχῆς,** lit. from the beginning = *entirely.* The novelty of the proposed force consisted in its being made up of citizens instead of mercenaries, and being constantly maintained instead of being raised anew for every new emergency (*τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ*.) It might take longer to raise such a force and provide for its subsistence, hence some might charge him with the very *delay* (*ἀναβάλλειν*) which he deprecated. But it would prove the most expeditious in the end; *for*, he proceeds to say, *it is not those who cried "Quick!" and "To-day!" that speak most to the purpose.* — **οἱ εἰπόντες** is past; those who have spoken on former occasions, and *ταχύ* and *τήμερον* were the very words which they spoke. — 19. **οὐ γὰρ ἄν, κ. τ. λ.,** *for we could not prevent what has already happened by present succor*, sc. if we should render it ever so immediately (implied protasis, C. 658 a; Cu. 575; G. 211; H. 783). The maxim is so obvious as to be almost common-place in itself; but it is so well put, and in such a connection as to form (sit venia verbo) *a knock-down argument.* — 15. 21. **ἀλλ' ὃς ἄν,** *but he speaks most to the purpose who can show.* — **τίς...πόση...πόθεν** answer to the *ἥν...ὅσον...οὕστινας* of the thirteenth section (*τίς* having reference to the kind of troops, *πόση* to the number, and *πόθεν* to the ways and means of support, cf. § 20 below), and *πορισθεῖσα* belongs with each of the interrogatives and denotes the preliminary action or condition which will enable the troops to *hold out*: *what force, and how great, and from what source provided and supplied* (i. e. in case it be provided and supplied, C. 635; Cu. 583; G. 226; H. 751) will *be able to keep the field.* The conciseness and flexibility of the Greek is seen in such sentences. — 23. **πεισθέντες,** *of our own accord.* — 24. **τοῦ λοιποῦ,** C. 433 a; Cu. 426; H. 591. — 26. **μὴ κωλύων,** *not, however, wishing to oppose.* *μή*, not *οὐ*, because

following the inf. *ἔχειν*. So Franke. Whiston says, "not positive, but conditional." — 27. **ὑπόσχεσις,** *the promise* (undertaking); **τὸ πρᾶγμα,** *the performance;* **τὸν ἔλεγχον,** *the test.*

16. P. 6, l. 1. **τριήρεις.** Vessels propelled by three banks of oars and three ranks of rowers, properly ships of war, the swiftest of which were almost as fast as a modern steamship. Two classes are distinguished in this passage, viz. *ταχεῖαι τριήρεις* (§ 22), swift ships and long (*μακραί*), which were real men-of-war, carrying sometimes 200 men, crew and marines; and a slower and heavier class, used in battle only in cases of necessity, but usually employed for transporting troops. These last are again subdivided into cavalry transports, *ἱππαγωγοί*, and transports for foot-soldiers, here called simply *τριήρεις*, but often called *ὁπλιταγωγοί*. Besides these we have *πλοῖα*, sailing-vessels for carrying baggage, provisions, etc. (impedimenta). Cf. L. & S., *Lex.*, and Smith's *Dic. Antiq.*, art. Ships. — 2. **πεντήκοντα.** The entire fleet at this time consisted of at least 300 triremes. Demos., *De Sym.*, 18; Böckh., *Pub. Econ.*, B. II. C. 21. — **εἶτ'...ἐμβᾶσιν,** *and then* (secondly) *that we ourselves ought to have our minds made up to this, that, if need be, we must embark in them ourselves and sail,* sc. as volunteers, or citizen soldiers. This shows the use to be made of the fifty triremes and the kind of triremes meant (sc. *ὁπλιταγωγοί*). Observe the emphatic repetition of *ourselves,* — the same idea which so often recurs in the Olynthiacs afterwards, e. g. I. 6; II. 27; III. 34, et passim. — 4. **πρὸς δὲ τούτοις,** *and besides these I move you to prepare cavalry transports for the half of our cavalry and a sufficient number of sailing-vessels* (tenders). The article with *ἱππέων* refers to *the* standing force of cavalry usually maintained at Athens, which at this time was 1,000, 100 from each tribe. Cf. *De Sym.*, 13. — 5. **ἱππαγωγούς,** quæ, Pericle auctore, 430, e vetustis triremibus factæ sunt (Thuc., II. 56) quibus equites et equi vehebantur. Ab his et *ὁπλιταγωγοὶ τριήρεις* supra, et *τριήρεις ταχεῖαι* (§ 22) naves longæ, quarum in pugna navali usus erat, distinguendæ sunt. Franke. — 17. 6. **ταῦτα μὲν...ἐπί,** *these, on the one hand, I think ought to be in readiness against. μέν, on the one hand,* or *in the first place,* is resumed at the beginning of § 19, and there finds the *δέ, in the second place,* which answers to it. — 10. **παραστῆσαι,** so the MS. Σ, Vömel, Rehdantz, etc., *it is necessary to impress this upon his mind,* al. *παραστῆναι,* that it should be present, or be impressed. — **ὑμεῖς,** emphatic, is the subject of *ὁρμησαῖτε*, which has the preg-

nant signification of *awake* and *start off*: *that* YOU *may perhaps awake from this your excessive apathy, and start off, just as you did to Eubœa.* After ὥσπερ understand ὡρμήσατε. — 11. **εἰς Εὔβοιαν.** This expedition was sent to aid the Eubœans against the Thebans, B. C. 358, and was successful in compelling the latter to evacuate the island. It was a frequent subject of glorification with the Athenians. Demosthenes himself was one of the trierarchs (*De Cor.*, 99), and Grote suggests (XI. 307) that he doubtless heard the appeal of Timotheus, whose eloquence moved the Athenians to undertake the expedition, and whose generalship conducted it to so successful an issue. — 12. **εἰς Ἁλίαρτον.** This happened B. C. 395, before the birth of Demosthenes; hence πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν. The Athenians under Thrasybulus marched to assist the Thebans against the Spartans, and arrived just in season to turn the scale and compel the Spartans to withdraw from Bœotia. This expedition is also mentioned, *De Cor.*, 96. — 12. **τὰ τελευταῖα,** *finally*, as the last instance. — 13. **πρῴην,** *recently.* It was two or three years previous to this oration, B. C. 353–2. — **18.** 13. **οὔτοι παντελῶς, κ. τ. λ.,** *and even if you should not achieve this as* **I** *say you ought, it* (the preparation which I recommend) *is by no means a thing to be despised in order that either through the fear* which it would cause, etc. — 17. **εἰσὶ...εἰσίν,** cf. πότ'...πότε, § 10, and note there. — **ἐξαγγέλλοντες** denotes a customary action, *who are in the habit of reporting*, carrying *abroad* intelligence, ἐξ-. — 18. **πλείους τοῦ δέοντος,** *more than there should be;* in eo numero fuerunt Philocrates, Phryno, Aristodemus, Neoptolemus, Ctesiphon, alii. Sauppe. — 19. **μηδενός,** not οὐδενός, on account of ἵνα, says Franke; but better with Rehdantz, because it is an implied condition; *if there were nothing to prevent you sailing against his country*, as there would not be, if you raise a permanent force and take advantage of the winds and the situation (cf. § 31) as I recommend. — 20. **ἂν ἐνδῷ καιρόν,** *should he* (Philip) *give you an opportunity.* — **19.** 21. **ταῦτα μέν...πρὸς δέ,** cf. note, § 17, above. — **δεδόχθαι...καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι,** *immediately voted and at once provided.* C. 599; Cu. 506; G. 202, 2; H. 715. — **πρὸς τούτοις,** *besides this* (Bekker, Dindorf, Heslop, Whiston, etc.), al. πρὸ τούτων, before this (Franke, Sauppe, Rehdantz, etc.). The former reading, found in good MSS., accords better with the sentence immediately preceding, and is confirmed by πρὸς τούτοις, § 22. — 23. **προχειρίσασθαι,** *to get ready to hand.* Whiston. — 25. **μή μοι,** *none of your ten thousand, nor twice ten thousand merce-*

naries. The acc. and dat. depend on λέγητε or some such verb implied in μή. — 26. **ἐπιστολιμαίους**, *on paper*, defined by ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν below, § 30. — **ταύτας**, sc. with which you are so familiar. — 27. **ἀλλ' ἣ**...**ἔσται**, *but a force which shall belong to the state*, i. e. consisting, not of mercenaries alone, but largely of citizens, and therefore fully subject to the command and at the disposal of the state, instead of running off to fight their own battles, 24 below. This is the reading of most of the editions. Some MSS. read ἀλλ' ᾗ. — **κἂν**...**ἀκολουθήσει**, *and which, whether you elect one or more, or this or that man, or any one whatever as general, will obey and follow him.* — **τὸν δεῖνα**, cf. note, *Ol.*, II. 31 ; III. 35.

20. P. 7, l. 3. **τίς**...**πόση**...**πόθεν**, cf. note, § 15 above. — **πῶς**... **ποιεῖν**, i. e. how the force can be so constituted that it will cheerfully obey the commander and fight the battles of the country. — 5. **καθ'** is distinctive, *one by one*. — 6. **ξένους μὲν λέγω**, *mercenaries I do indeed propose.* Lest the remark in the previous section, "none of your ten thousand, or twice ten thousand mercenaries," should be misunderstood, and prejudice the minds of his hearers, for whom it was much easier and pleasanter to *vote any number of mercenaries* than to take the field themselves, he takes the earliest opportunity to suggest that he does not propose to dispense entirely with this usual and popular species of troops. At the same time he intimates by the word μέν that this is not the only force which he proposes. Instead, however, of proceeding at once to state the number of mercenaries, — a number which they would deem contemptibly small for them to vote,—he stops to warn them against their pernicious habit of voting large and doing little or nothing ; in other words, as soon as he has relieved their minds by this popular suggestion, he returns to his main point, "*none of your myriads*," etc., and insists that they shall vote no more than they can and will execute. If any reader sees in this not only rhetorical art, but *artifice*, he should remember that the Athenian people would not listen to an orator who did not please their tastes and yield more or less to their prejudices. — 7. **καὶ ὅπως**, *and beware how you do what has many times harmed you.* For the construction, see C. 626 ; Cu. 553, Obs.; G. 218, N. 2 ; H. 756 a. — **ποιήσετε**, al. ποιήσητε. But the fut. ind. is more common than the subj., especially with Dem., in such warnings. Cf. Vömel in loc. — 9. **ἐπὶ**...**ποιεῖτε**, *when it comes to* (ἐπί with the dative) *the doing* (action, business, agendum), *you do not execute* (effect, accomplish, faci-

tis) *even the smallest*. Cf. note, *Ol.*, III. 15. — 10. **ἀλλὰ...φαίνηται,** *but after you have executed and provided the small, add to these from time to time* (imper. *pres.*), *if they prove* (not merely *seem*, but *are shown*) *to be too small*. C. 514; H. 662. — 21. 12. **λέγω δή** resumes the *ξένους μὲν λέγω* above, emphasizing λέγω, however, instead of ξένους, *I propose then*. δή resumptive = *then*, or *I say*. — **στρατιώτας** here means *foot-soldiers*; the *cavalry* are spoken of below, ἱππέας. So below, §§ 28, 33. — **ἐξ ἧς...ἡλικίας,** *of whatever age you may think advisable*. It was customary to specify in the bill some age as the limit of an enlistment. — 15. **μὴ μακρόν.** The orator sweetens the bitter draught as often and as much as possible. — 17. **ἀλλήλοις** is dative after ἐξ διαδοχῆς, *relieving one another*. — 18. **διακοσίους...πεντήκοντα.** One tenth of the whole force was to be cavalry, — the usual proportion in the Greek service, — and at least one fourth of the infantry and the cavalry were to be Athenians. — 19. **ὥσπερ** is correlative to τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον in *Ol.*, I. 15, also, where see note: *in the same manner as the foot-soldiers*, i. e. for the same length of time, and relieving each other in the same way. — **ἱππαγωγούς,** sc. εἶναι κελεύω. Ad rem, see note on τριήρεις, § 16, above. — 22. 22. **ταχείας τριήρεις,** see note § 16. — 23. **ναυτικόν** shows that these swift triremes, war-galleys, were emphatically the *navy*. On Philip's navy, see Grote, XI. 424. — **τριήρων ἡμῖν,** gen. of want and dat. of advantage after δεῖ. C. 414, 453; Cu. 431; H. 575, or dat. of the person and gen. of the thing. G. 184, N. 1. — **καί,** *too*, i. e. besides the transports. — **ὅπως...πλέῃ,** i. e. the swift ships are to serve as a convoy. — 26. **τηλικαύτην,** *of such amount*, as named above, i. e. here, *so small* = tantillam. — 27. **Καὶ πολίτας...κελεύω,** *and why I recommend* (move) *that those who serve should be* CITIZENS. As only one fourth of the soldiers were to be citizens, various suggestions have been made to get over the difficulty, such, e. g. as making πολίτας, or πολίτας τοὺς στατευομένους, the subject, and εἶναι = παρεῖναι (§ 23). But the above is the only translation of which the Greek will admit. συστρατευομένους has been proposed as an amendment, instead of στρατευομένους, so as to correspond with the actual constitution of the force as above recommended. But even then the article would not be right. And as the reading is, it corresponds with the *characteristic feature* of the recommendation: *a potiori nomen fit*.

D. Reasons for this recommendation (23-27).

23-27. I RECOMMEND THIS COMPARATIVELY SMALL FORCE, BE-

CAUSE IT IS IMPRACTICABLE FOR US NOW TO PROVIDE AN ARMY THAT CAN MEET PHILIP'S ARMY ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE. AND I URGE THAT A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE FORCE CONSIST OF ATHENIANS, BECAUSE IT IS NO NEW THING FOR CITIZENS TO SERVE IN YOUR ARMIES, AND BECAUSE, SINCE MERCENARY SOLDIERS, OFFICERED, TOO, MORE OR LESS, BY FOREIGNERS, HAVE CARRIED ON YOUR WARS, THEY CONQUER YOUR FRIENDS, AND FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES FOR THEIR OWN INTEREST, WHILE YOU AND YOUR GENERALS ARE ENGROSSED WITH SPORTS AND FESTIVALS.

23. P. 8, l. 1. **Τοσαύτην** here takes the place of *τηλικαύτην* in the previous section, with the same meaning and the same construction, sc. *ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι*, or possibly *εἶναι κελεύω*. — **τοσαύτην μὲν...πολίτας δέ**, *so small in the first place — in the second place citizens.* C. 701 q. — 2. **ἐκείνῳ**, as usual, refers to Philip. — 3. **λῃστεύειν**, as opposed to *παραταξομένην* = *to carry on a guerilla warfare.* — 4. **τὴν πρώτην**, *in the first place* = *for the present.* Cf. *Ol.*, III. 2. — 5. **ὑπέρογκον ...ταπεινήν**, *it must not be over-large nor on the other hand altogether contemptible.* — 7. **καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω.** Compare the *καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν* of § 17. The reference in both sections is to the same war, often called the Corinthian War, B. C. 395. Curtius, IV. 245; Grote, IX. 454. Little is known of Polystratus. He is mentioned also in the *Or. con. Leptinem*, § 84. The other two generals here named were among the ablest and most distinguished of the Athenian generals. Iphicrates gained especial distinction by defeating (in the Corinthian War) a Lacedæmonian mora (about 600 men) of heavy infantry with the light-armed *πελτασταί* which he organized and trained. Whiston in loc.; Curtius, IV. 263; Thirlwall, I. 571, Amer. ed.; Grote, IX. 482. Chabrias was scarcely less famous. Curtius, IV. 459, V. 93; Thirlwall, II. 20, 82. — 24. **οἶδα ἀκούων.** The orator still refers to the same war, and now adds a reference to its successes which, of course, he *knows* only by what he *has heard.* Cf. *ἀκούων σύνοιδα*, *Ol.*, III. 3. — 11. **Λακεδαιμονίους...ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων.** These are the words which the orator wishes to emphasize: *that these mercenaries fighting by your side and* YOU BY THEIRS *conquered the* LACEDÆMONIANS. It is curious and instructive to see Demosthenes thus referring to the service of Athenian citizens in their armies as a matter of *hearsay* beyond the personal knowledge of himself and his hearers, so long and so entirely had they come to rely on mercenaries. See on this subject Curtius, IV. 310; Grote, XI. 390.

— 14. **νίκᾳ,** *they are continually conquering your* FRIENDS, *while your* ENEMIES, etc. — 16. **παρακύψαντα,** *after a passing glance.* — 17. **πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον.** See *Ol.*, II. 28, where the orator asks why all their generals run away from the service on which they are sent and seek out wars of their own. The allusion there and here is probably to Chares, who, in the Social War, having no money to pay his troops, lent them to the Persian satrap Artabazus, who was then in rebellion against the king. He gained a victory for the satrap, and was well paid for the service, but came very near involving the Athenians in a war with the king of Persia. Diod., XVI. 22; Grote, XI. 324. — 17. **μᾶλλον,** *rather* than to *τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον.* — 18. **εἰκότως,** *of course,* followed by *γάρ,* which assigns the reason in the form of a *gnome* or apothegm. — 19. **μὴ διδόντα,** conditional negative = *if he does not find them pay.* — **25.** 21. **ποριστάντας...παρακαταστήσαντας,** *by providing pay and by attaching citizen soldiers as eye-witnesses of the conduct of your generals.* C. 674; Cu. 581; G. 277, 2; H. 789, 6. *μάρτυρας* is used below, § 47, instead of *ἐπόπτας.* — 23. **ἐπεὶ νῦν γε,** *for the way we manage things now certainly is ridiculous,* *γέλως* being the predicate in an emphatic position. — 25. **μὰ Δί'...γε,** *no indeed, not we.* — 26. **πολεμοῦμεν,** in the war of Amphipolis. — **26.** 27. **οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε,** *and did you not* (lately, this very year, according to your custom in time of war) *elect from among yourselves taxiarchs and generals and phylarchs ten of each, and two hipparchs? What, then, are* all *these doing,* and why, when you have such an ample supply of Athenian officers, do you not only employ mercenary troops, but let foreign officers command them? Such seems to be the spirit of the argument in this and the following sections. The Athenian army was organized and officered, according to the democratic constitution of the state, with ten generals, ten taxiarchs (division commanders), and ten phylarchs (cavalry officers), one from each tribe; and in the earlier and better days of Athenian history, as, for example, at the battle of Marathon, these were all in the field and at their post of duty. But now in this degenerate age, Demosthenes says, with the exception of one man, whom they *may perchance* send out to the war (*ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον*), they were all in the city helping the sacrificial magistrates conduct the sacred processions (*μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν*)! Ten of these *ἱεροποιοί* were elected each year, one from each tribe, as masters of religious ceremonies.

P. 9, l. 4. **ὥσπερ γάρ**, *for you elect your taxiarchs and your phylarchs not for the war, but for the agora, just like those who model generals in plaster*, that is, you make your military officers mere statuettes, puppets, and figure-heads for your shows and ceremonies. These would of course be *in* and *for the agora.* — 27. 7. **οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν**, *for ought not taxiarchs to have been* FROM AMONG YOURSELVES, *a hipparch* FROM AMONG YOURSELVES, *officers of* YOUR OWN (Athenian citizens), *in order that the army might have been really at the disposal of the state?* Observe the emphatic repetition. — 9. **ἵν' ἦν. ἵνα** with a past tense of the ind. to denote the unattained end of an unfulfilled condition. G. 216, 3; C. 624, d; H. 742; Madv. 131 b, 3. — **ἀλλ'**, *nay.* Kennedy renders it *or.* — 10. **εἰς Λῆμνον.** From a lately discovered fragment of Hyperides we learn that one of the two hipparchs was sent every year to Lemnos, for the purpose, as we may conclude from this passage, of taking part in some procession of the Cleruchs (Athenian settlers), or other sacred solemnity, rather than for the discharge of military duty. Heslop. — 12. **τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ...ἱππαρχεῖν**, *while Menelaus* (a foreigner) *is hipparch of those who are contending for the possessions of the state* (Athens). Of this Menelaus nothing is *known* except that he was not an Athenian; the statement of Harpocration that he was half-brother of Philip is scarcely probable. — 13. **ἀλλ'...κεχειροτονημένον**, *but this man, whatever his character may be, ought to have been elected by you*, i. e. he ought to have been an *Athenian*, for a foreigner might be *hired*, but could not be truly and properly *elected.* See Schaefer in loc.

E. Ways and Means (28 – 30).

28 – 30. I RECOMMEND THAT YOU RAISE NINETY-TWO TALENTS AS *MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE* FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY. THE REST THE ARMY ITSELF WILL SUPPLY FROM THE WAR. FROM WHAT SOURCES THIS SUM CAN BE RAISED WILL APPEAR FROM THE SCHEDULE HEREWITH SUBMITTED.

28. 16. **ταῦτα μέν**, sc. the kind of armament and the number of troops; the first and second topics suggested § 13; *τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων*, the third part of his exposition, which he there calls *πόρους οὕστινας χρημάτων.* — 18. **περαίνω**, pres. ind. = *I proceed to despatch.* — **χρήματα τοίνυν**, *as to supplies, then, the* (cost of) *subsistence, ration-money only for this force, is ninety talents and a little over.* The items sum up ninety-two talents, it will be seen. With this adverbial use of *πρός* compare our *too*, which is only an emphatic *to.* — 22. **τοῦ μηνὸς**

ἑκάστου. The calculation is for the year of twelve months, for it is to be a permanent force. — 23. **τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα,** *as much more*, sc. forty talents. The *budget* (for these estimates remind us of the yearly budget laid before the British Parliament, and the Athenian orator's office at this time was scarcely less complex than that of the British Minister, who is the leader in the House of Commons) is made up as follows: —

For the ships, 10 ships × 20 minæ × 12 months = 2,400 minæ .	= 40 talents
For the foot-soldiers, 2,000 foot × 10 drachmas × 12 months = 240,000 drachmas	= 40 "
For the horse, 200 horsemen × 30 drachmas × 12 mths. = 72,000 dr.	= 12 "
Sum total for the year	92 talents

A talent was nominally a little less than $1,000, and a drachma somewhat less than a Massachusetts shilling ($\frac{1}{6}$ of $1). The student may aid his memory by keeping in mind this standard of comparison, and for practical purposes generally it will be sufficiently accurate. It should be remembered, however, that the *value* of money, as estimated in the corn or other means of subsistence it would buy, was many times its present value. Boekh, *Pub. Econ.* B. I., passim; *Dic. Antiq.*, Talentum. Demosthenes's allowance, therefore (of 30 drachmas a month, a shilling a day), for the subsistence of the horseman with his horse, and a third of that sum (less than 6 cents a day) for the foot-soldier, is not so scanty as with the present value of money it would seem to be. — 25. **οὖσιν,** being, i. e. *numbering*. — 26. **λαμβάνῃ,** pres. subj. *receive statedly*, from month to month. — 29. 27. **ἀφορμήν** is literally a starting-point. Heslop renders it *start* here; Whiston, *provision: but if any one thinks it to be a small outfit that ration-money only be furnished to begin with, he is mistaken*. — For **γιγνώσκω** in the sense of think, or judge, see § 1 and note there.

P. 10, l. 3. **προσποριεῖ,** *will provide what else* (προς-) *is required from the war* (i. e. not for itself, which would require the middle, but so that you will not have to provide it, cf. *πορίσωσιν*, *Ol.*, II. 16). Böckh remarks on this passage in his *Pub. Econ.*, B. II., Ch. 22, "this proposal is worthy of remark as having no parallel in any Grecian author; it is the outline of a plan for embodying a military force to maintain itself at free quarters and at the same time to form a permanent standing army, though its continuance was indeed limited to the duration of the war." Heslop. — **ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.** Exposé of Ways and Means. A schedule of resources available

for the purpose, furnished by the proper official, or with his help (hence perhaps the ἡμεῖς of § 30), is here read by that officer or by Demosthenes himself, or perhaps by the clerk, which was not incorporated in the written oration, and so is not preserved. Compare the documents, or places for them, in *De Corona*. — 30. 10. **Ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς... ἐστί.** Dionysius (*Epis. ad Ammon.*, I. 10) quotes these words as the *beginning* of the *sixth* Philippic. Hence some have inferred that in our present copies of the first Philippic we have two separate orations brought together. But the internal evidence is sufficient to demonstrate its unity. Moreover, *no* oration could ever have ended with τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω; and none could ever have begun with ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς, κ. τ. λ. And there are many other reasons for believing that Dionysius must have blundered here, as he did in reference to the order of the Olynthiacs. See especially Whiston in loc., and Grote, XI. 431. — 11. **ἐπιχειροτονῆτε** must here mean, not approve, sanction by vote as usual, but simply *vote upon*. — **τὰς γνώμας,** *the resolutions*, sententias, sc. that have been proposed whether by myself or others, cf. § 15. — 12. **χειροτονήσατε,** al. χειροτονήσετε.

F. Topographical suggestions (31, 32).

31, 32. YOU WILL DO WELL TO CONSIDER THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY, AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE TRADE-WINDS, OR RATHER PREVENT PHILIP'S TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THEM (AS HE DOES CONTINUALLY) BY PROVIDING A PERMANENT FORCE, INSTEAD OF OCCASIONAL SUCCORS, AND STATIONING IT IN THE ISLANDS NEAR THE MACEDONIAN COAST, WHERE IT WILL BE IN CONSTANT READINESS TO LAND OR BLOCKADE THE PORTS.

31. 15. **Δοκεῖτε,** the personal for the impersonal construction. C. 573; Cu. 571; H. 777. Render: *It seems to me that you would.* — **τὸν τόπον,** *the situation*, with reference especially to the winds and seasons, as explained in the following context. — 18. **ἐνθυμηθείητε,** *consider well*; **λογίσαισθε,** *take into account*. — 19. **τὰ πολλά** is to be taken with both προλαμβάνων and διαπράττεται, *that by means of the winds and the seasons he gets the start of us and accomplishes the most of his undertakings.* — 20. **τοὺς ἐτησίας,** *the periodical winds, trade*-winds, as we call them. These blow from the northwest for forty days after the rising of the dog-star, and would, of course, be adverse to a fleet sailing from Athens to Macedonia. "The obstinacy and violence of the Etesian winds, in July and August, are well known to those who have had to struggle with them

in the Ægean during that season." Leake's *Northern Greece*, quoted by Whiston. — 21. **ἡνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα** is subjective, giving the view of Philip: ἡνίκα ἡμεῖς οὐ δυνάμεθα would be objective, stating the fact as accepted by the speaker and generally understood. The latter would mean, *when we cannot;* the former may be rendered, *when he thinks we cannot*, or, more exactly, *whenever in his opinion we should not be able.* C. 643 e, 686 n; L. & S. *Lex.* This form also expresses a *repeated* condition negatively, answering to the customary action expressed by ἐπιχειρεῖ. — **32.** 23. **ὑστεριοῦμεν**, *for we shall be too late for everything*, as, e. g. in the cases of Methone, Pagasæ, and Potidæa, mentioned below, § 35. — 25. **ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν**, *and you are at liberty* (licet, Franke) *to use as a winter station for the force Lemnos*, etc. The islands here named, together with Scopelus, Halonesus, Peparethus, etc., were at this time subject to Athens.

P. 11, l. 3. **ὑπάρχει**, *are in readiness;* ὑπάρχειν is understood with χρή. — **τὴν δ' ὥραν**, *and during* (acc.) *the season of the year when it is both easy to land* (come to the land and remain there, dat.) *and the winds are safe.* — 5. **τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων**, strictly the matter of the winds, is a more general expression for the winds themselves. Cf. τὰ τῆς τύχης, § 12, and τὸ τῶν θεῶν, and τὸ τῆς τύχης, 45. — 5. **πρὸς αὐτῇ, κ. τ. λ.**, *they will easily take their station near his country and at the entrances of his ports*, sc. to land troops to carry out the system of λῃστεία recommended in § 23 and to interfere with commerce.

G. The probable results of this course, in contrast with the wretched state of things now existing at Athens (**33–46**).

33–46. PROVIDE THE MONEY AND ENLIST THE ARMY FOR THE WAR, AS I RECOMMEND, AND YOU WILL CEASE TO BE ALWAYS DELIBERATING, AND ACCOMPLISHING NOTHING. YOU WILL ALSO TAKE AWAY FROM PHILIP HIS CHIEF RESOURCES, FOR HE SUPPORTS HIS ARMY BY PLUNDERING YOU AND YOUR ALLIES. AND YOU WILL NO LONGER BE ALWAYS TOO LATE. WHY IS IT THAT YOUR FESTIVALS ALWAYS COME OFF AT THE APPOINTED TIME, WHILE YOUR MILITARY EXPEDITIONS ARE ALWAYS BEHIND THE TIME? BECAUSE IN THE FORMER EVERYTHING IS FIXED BY LAW, WHEREAS IN THE LATTER THERE IS NOTHING SETTLED. YOU SHOULD NOT FOLLOW EVENTS, BUT LEAD THEM, AS YOU EXPECT YOUR GENERALS TO LEAD YOUR ARMIES. BUT YOU FIGHT JUST AS BARBARIANS BOX, ALWAYS COVERING THE PLACE AFTER YOU ARE HIT, AND FOLLOWING PHILIP HITHER AND THITHER AS IF HE WERE THE COMMANDER OF YOUR

ARMIES. DO YOU ASK WHERE WE SHOULD ATTACK HIM? HAVE YOUR FORCE IN THE FIELD, AND YOU WILL SOON FIND HIS WEAK POINTS. SEND OUT EVEN A SMALL FORCE OF ATHENIAN CITIZENS, AND THE FAVOR OF THE GODS AND OF FORTUNE WILL GO WITH THEM.

33. P. 11, l. 7. **Ἅ** = *How*, adverbial accusative. C. 483, b; Cu. 201; G. 160; H. 552. — **παρά**, alongside of, hence *at the time of and according to*. It might be rendered *from* or *through*, as in § 11. — **κύριος** is pred. after *καταστάς*. Render: *How, therefore, and when he shall use the force, the general who is put in command of this matter will decide as occasion may arise.* — 10. **γέγραφα**, sc. in my motion. — 12. **παρασκευάσαντες...κατακλείσητε**, *and then, after having furnished the other things* required, *the foot-soldiers, the triremes, the cavalry, in short, the whole force complete, you bind them by law to remain at the war.* So Sauppe and Dindorf, governing *δύναμιν* by *παρασκευάσαντες* and repeating it after *κατακλείσητε*. Franke and Rehdantz separate *ἐντελῆ* from *δύναμιν* and make it agree with *τἄλλα*, thus summing up the particulars. Whatever be the construction, it is proleptic = *so as to be complete.* — 14. **τῶν μὲν χρημάτων**, *becoming* (as you are not now) *the receivers and providers of the money yourselves and requiring from the general the due* (*τόν*) *account of his doings.* — **ποристаί**, providing it yourselves instead of letting your generals take it perchance from your friends and allies (§ 24), just as *ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ*, l. 14, means the war to which they are sent in contrast with wars of their own to enrich or at least to support themselves. — 18. **πλέον...ποιοῦντες**, *and making no progress*, L. & S. under *πλείων*. — 34. 19. **πρῶτον μέν** is correlative to *ἔπειτα*, l. 23 = *in the first place...in the second place.* — 21. **ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν**, emphatic juxtaposition: *he carries on war with* YOU *by means of what he gets from* YOUR OWN *allies.* — 22. **ἄγων καὶ φέρων** = agere et ferre, is explained in the *Lex.*, which see. — 22. **τοὺς πλέοντας**, sc. of your allies = *their merchantmen*, their commerce. — 23. **αὐτοί**, *yourselves* as well as your allies will be saved from robbery and plunder. — 24. **οὐχ**, *and he* (Philip) *will not do as he has done in time past, when he made a descent upon Lemnos and Imbrus and carried away captive your citizens* (Athenian settlers, cf. note, § 32), *when he seized the ships at Geræstus and levied*, etc. The verbs in these specifications are all to be understood in the future with *οὐχ*. These are the things which he will no longer be permitted to do. Observe that these clauses have no connectives, cf. note § 4. Geræs-

tus was a promontory and town in the South of Eubœa. It was a convenient point for corn-ships and other vessels to touch at on their way from the Levant to Attica. Grote, X. 176.

P. 12, l. 1. **τὴν ἱερὰν...τριήρη**, probably the Paralus. There was also another sacred vessel called the Salaminia, and indeed still others of less distinction in the time of Demosthenes. Besides going on the sacred embassies (*θεωρίαι*) to Delos and elsewhere, these vessels carried despatches, embassadors, and other officers of state. See art. Salaminia, *Dic. Antiq.* — 3. **ἠδύνασθε**, al. *δύνασθε*. — **εἰς τοὺς χρόνους**, strictly, *to* or *for* the times, to correspond with the *sending* succor expressed by *βοηθεῖν*. — 5. **Παναθηναίων...Διονυσίων.** There were two Panathenaic festivals, the Less observed annually, and the Greater celebrated once in four years, and four Dionysiac festivals, all annual, observed at different times and places in honor of the god Dionysus, at the greatest of which, observed in the city, crowds of strangers as well as citizens were present, and the new tragedies were exhibited. See the documents in *De Cor.*; L. & S. *Lex.*; and more fully, *Dic. Antiq.* — 6. **τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου**, *at the proper time.* C. 433; Cu. 426; G. 179; H. 591. — 7. **ἰδιῶται**, properly private individuals as distinguished from public and professional men; here, the inexperienced, laymen as it were, in distinction from experts, *δεινοί*. — 8. **εἰς ἅ, κ. τ. λ.**, *for which you are in the habit of expending more money than for any one of your military expeditions, and which are more numerously attended and more magnificent than any I know of anywhere.* — **τοσαῦτα...ὅσα οὐδ' ἕνα**, lit. so much as none = *more than any*, with an emphasis, however, on the *τοσαῦτα* which might be expressed in English by combining the two forms = *so* much money...more than for any, etc. — **Μεθώνην.** Cf. special Introduction, p. 51. Observe the asyndeton, cf. note § 4. — 36. 15. **ἐκ πολλοῦ**, *long beforehand.* — **χορηγός.** It was the duty of the choragus, who was one of the rich men of the state, to provide, maintain, and train the dramatic choruses at the Dionysiac festivals. — **γυμνασίαρχος**, gymnasiarch of his tribe. Each tribe appointed its own gymnasiarchs. It was their office to provide, maintain, and train athletes for the games at the festivals. See *Dic. Antiq.* — 16. **τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν**, *what* money he is to *receive and what he must do* in return for it. The action denoted by the part. being preliminary to that expressed by the verb, and the two questions being condensed into one clause in the Greek, cf note § 3. — 19. **ἄτακτα...ἀόριστα**, *un-*

arranged, *unregulated*, *undefined*, so that *nobody* knows beforehand who is to command, who is to serve, what he is to receive, or what he is to do. — 20. **ἅμα...καὶ** = simul ac, as soon as we have heard of any emergency we appoint trierarchs. It was the duty of the trierarchs (*Pub. Econ.*), who were appointed from among the rich men, to *furnish* the triremes. Compare the choragus and the gymnasiarch above, and on the trierarchic system see Böckh., *Pub. Econ.*, B. IV. c. 11. — 21. **ἀντιδόσεις**, *exchanges of property*, sufficiently explained in the Lexicon, and more fully in *Dic. Antiq.* This liberty of exchange was a fruitful source of delay. — 23. **μετοίκους.** The foreign residents were a numerous and important class, who did much of the business at Athens, and bore many of the burdens of the state. Their relations were so peculiar that the name (*metics*) has been transferred by Grote and some other writers of Greek history. *Dic. Antiq.* sub. v. — **ἔδοξε**, gnomic aor. = it is resolved, placitum est. — **τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας**, *the freedmen who live apart from their old masters.* See Böckh., B. II. ch. 21, on this passage, the freedmen and the metics. — 24. **εἶτ'...ἀντεμβιβάζειν**, *then again to embark ourselves instead*, lit. to make ourselves go on board. The expression is as strange in the Greek as in the English, and various amendments have been suggested to correct it. Westermann and Franke read *εἶτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἶτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν*, Dindorf encloses *ἀντεμβιβάζειν* in brackets, understanding *ἐμβαίνειν* with *αὐτοὺς πάλιν*, and Whiston would prefer this reading if *ἀντεμβιβάζειν* were not in all the MSS. Perhaps the orator means to satirize the absurdity of their conduct by the strangeness of the language. — 37. 25. **εἶτ' ἐν ὅσῳ...ἐκπλέωμεν**, *so while these delays are taking place the object of our expedition, whatever it may be, is already lost.* — **μέλλεται**, pass., as in Xen. *Anab.* III. 1, 47; Thuc. V. 111. Compare Heslop in loc. — 27. **οἱ δὲ...εἰρωνείαν**, *and the favorable moments* (opportunities for deeds) *do not wait for our delays and evasions.*

P. 13, l. 3. **οὐδὲν...ἐξελέγχονται**, *when the opportunities do come, prove inadequate to render any effective service.* — 4. **ὁ**, HE, is, of course, Philip, who so fills every mind that there is no need of any other designation. — **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.** The letters, which, like the schedule at § 30, are read and not incorporated with the text, are said by the Scholiast to have been chiefly a warning or advice to the Eubœans not to build any hopes on their alliance with the Athenians, who were not able to help them. — 38. 8. **τὰ πολλά**, *the most.* C. 523 f;

Cu. 374; G. 142, N. 3; H. 528 n.—**ὡς οὐκ ἔδει** = *unhappily.* Whiston. — **οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ,** *although, perhaps, not at all.* — 9. **εἰ μὲν...δημηγορεῖν,** *if indeed all that we may pass over in speaking to avoid giving offence would pass over as matters of fact, we ought to speak so as to please you.* — **τὰ πράγματα** is the subject of *ὑπερβήσεται*, lit. *the things* (as well as the words) *will pass over.* So Westermann, Whiston, Rehdantz. Others, as Franke and Heslop, make *τις* the subject, and give *ὑπερβήσεται* a causative sense, *if he could thereby cause the things to pass over.* — 11. **εἰ δ' ἡ, κ. τ. λ.,** *but if graciousness of speech when it is ill-timed becomes a damage in action, it is a shame,* etc. It is difficult to express our orator's favorite contrast of *λόγος* and *ἔργον* or *πρᾶγμα* in good English. — 39. 15. **μηδὲ τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ.,** *and not be able to learn so much as this even, that they who would carry on war successfully must not follow in the wake of events, but must themselves march in advance of events.* — 20. **τῶν πραγμάτων** depends on *ἡγεῖσθαι* to be supplied from the previous clause: *so also must they who sit in council* (consult for the public good) *take the lead of events* (guide circumstances). — **τὰ συμβάντα...διώκειν** is only a stronger expression for *ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν*, lit. *to be continually pursuing what has happened,* and so is already past and gone. — 40. 24. **ἁπάντων,** *of all* the Greek states. Cf. 24, 216: *τριήρεις ὅσας οὐδεμία πόλις Ἑλληνὶς κέκτηται, κ. τ. λ.* On the Mil. and Nav. Force of Athens, see Böckh. *Pub. Econ.*, B. II. c. 21, and the Revenue, B. III. — 25. **μέχρι...ἡμέρας,** *to this very day.*

P. 14, l. 1. **οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε,** *and you fail in no particular* (lit. you leave off nothing) *to carry on war with Philip just as the barbarians box.* Al. *οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθε*, which Schaefer and Whiston render, *and yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere,* and other editors in other ways. But most editors have adopted the reading of our text, and justify the reading and construction by reference to Plato's *Phædo*, 69 B. Barbarians, of course, represent unskilful boxers as compared with the practised Greeks. Instead of *πολεμεῖν*, Schaefer and Whiston read *πολεμεῖτε.* — 4. **τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται,** *always feels for the blow,* lays hold of it as it were. So Heslop, Kennedy, and Whiston. Or *πληγῆς* may mean the wound, the part struck: *when stricken, he always lays hold of the part struck.* — **ἐκεισέ...χεῖρες,** lit. *thither are his hands,* with a singular mixture of motion and rest in the expression, which is doubtless intended to heighten the burlesque. — 41. 6. **καὶ ὑμεῖς,** *so you.* Cf. *καὶ περὶ τῶν*

πραγμάτων, *Ol.*, I. 11, and note there. — 9. **στρατηγεῖσθε**, *you are commanded by him*, as if he were your general. — 11. **πρὸ...προορᾶτε... πρίν**, triple emphasis, well rendered by Heslop: *nor before events take place do you foresee anything till you hear that something has happened or is happening.* — **42.** 14. **δοκεῖ**, personal for impersonal. Cf. note, *Ol.*, I. 10, where also there is an equally distinct recognition of the providence of the gods. — 16. **τοῖς γιγνομένοις**, dat. after *αἰσχυνόμενος*, cf. *τοῖς πράγμασιν*, § 2 and note there. — 19. **ἀποχρῆν**, *I think some of you would be satisfied with a state of things in consequence of which we should as a state have incurred dishonor and the reproach of cowardice and the deepest disgrace of every kind.* The subject of *ἀποχρῆν* is contained in the relative clause *ἐξ ὧν, κ. τ. λ.* C. 571, f. — **εἴπερ ..ἀπεγνώκατε**, *if, that is, you have not altogether given up in despair.* — **43.** 26. **ἀρχήν**. "Though they had begun the war in the hope of punishing him for his duplicity in appropriating Amphipolis, they had been themselves the losers by the capture of Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, etc.; and they were now thrown upon the defensive, without security for their maritime allies, their commerce, or their coasts." Grote, XI. p. 427. — 26. **περί** = *about*; **ὑπέρ**, l. 27 = *for the sake of.* It is a good illustration of the difference between the words.

P. 15, l. 2. **ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεται**, *that, to say the least, he will not stop*, sc. in his conquests and encroachments on our possessions. — **εἶτα** expresses surprise or indignation: *shall we then wait for this*, sc. for some one else to stop him. — 3. **τριήρεις κενάς**. See note, *Ol.*, III. 5. — 3. **τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας**, *the* HOPES *from* SOMEBODY (Mr. Such-an-one, cf. note, *Ol.*, III. 35), called *the hopes from the bema*, below, l. 17; the article points to familiar facts, and it is doubtless a hit at some of the leading orators. — **44.** 5. **οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοί, κ. τ. λ.**, *shall we not go forth ourselves with some portion at least of soldiers who are our own citizens now, although we have not done it before?* Every word in this question is full of meaning, from the WE OURSELVES to the NOW, and the NOT BEFORE; and the rapid series of interrogations expresses the intense ardor and earnestness of the speaker. — 8. **ἤρετό τις**. The question is rhetorically put, as if actually heard by the orator: "I heard some one ask." Heslop. — **τὰ σαθρά**, *the rotten parts.* The same word is used, *Ol.*, II. 21, and the same idea is there more fully developed. — 12. **οὐδέποτ᾽ οὐδὲν... μή**. C. 627, 713; Cu. 619, 620; G. 257, 283, 8; H. 843, 845. The

emphatic denial is well expressed by Heslop: *there is no chance of our ever having anything done that should be done.* — **45.** 13. **μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως** = *μέρει τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων*, l. 6, above. — 14. **συναποσταλῇ**, *sent abroad with* the rest of the army. — **καί τὸ...συναγωνίζεται,** *the good-will of the gods and of Fortune too aids us in the struggle.* Cf. *Ol.*, I. 1; II. 2, and notes there. Kennedy and Heslop make *εὐμενές* the predicate of *τὸ τῶν θεῶν*. Better with Whiston to make *τὸ εὐμενές* refer to *τῆς τυχῆς* as well as *τῶν θεῶν*, and the subject of *συναγωνίζεται*. — 16. **ψήφισμα κενόν,** *an empty resolution.* Cf. §§ 19, 30 and notes there. — 18. **οἱ μὲν ἐχθροί, κ. τ. λ.,** *your enemies laugh at them while your friends are frightened to death at* (or *stand in mortal dread of*) *such expeditions.* — **ἀποστόλους** is the object of *καταγελῶσιν* as well as of *τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει* = *μάλα δεδίασι*, or *ὑπερφοβοῦνται*. — **46.** 20. **ἕνα ἄνδρα** is of course the general without an army. — 22. **ὑποσχέσθαι...ἔστιν,** *to make promises, however, and assertions, and to accuse this man and that* IS *possible.* The allusion is to Chares, whose promises became a proverb. — 25. **ἀθλίων...ξένων,** *miserable unpaid mercenaries. Ol.*, II. 28. — 26. **οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ...ὦσιν,** *while those who lie to you without scruple about what he may have done* (in the field) *are here* (in your presence). **ῥᾳδίως** limits *ψευδόμενοι* (Franke, Rehdantz, Heslop, Whiston), not *ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν* (Westermann, Kennedy). — 27. **ὑμεῖς...προσδοκᾶν,** *and you keep voting* (present) *at random* (whatever you may chance to) *from what you hear, pray* (*καί*) *what ought we to expect?* Heslop would express *καί* by an emphasis: what *can* we expect?

H. How shall this state of things be brought to an end (**47–50**).

47–50. SEND OUT CITIZEN-SOLDIERS. THEN THE SAME MEN WILL BE AT ONCE SOLDIERS IN THE RANKS, EYE-WITNESSES OF THE CONDUCT OF YOUR GENERALS, AND JUDGES WHEN THEY RENDER UP THEIR ACCOUNTS. CEASE LISTENING TO FABRICATED REPORTS OF PHILIP'S DOINGS. THESE SILLY STORY-MONGERS ARE NOT HIS COUNSELLORS. TAKE FOR GRANTED THAT HE IS YOUR ENEMY, WHOM YOU MUST FIGHT AT HOME IF YOU WILL NOT MEET HIM ABROAD, AND ACT ACCORDINGLY.

47. P. 16, l. 2. **ὅταν ὑμεῖς, κ. τ. λ.,** they will cease, *whenever* YOU, *gentlemen of Athens, make* (appoint) *the same persons soldiers, and witnesses of the conduct of your generals, and on their return home judges of the accounts*, sc. of the generals (*Ol.*, I. 28). Rather a democratic constitution for an army! But thoroughly consonant

with the ideas and the government of the Athenians, and not more democratic than were the 10,000 Greeks in their retreat, as described by Xenophon (*Anab.* passim), nor without parallels in the citizen-soldiers of the United States in the late war. The generals, as well as the civil functionaries (see *De Cor.*, passim) were **ὑπεύθυνοι**, and, before they could be discharged, were required to render an account primarily of moneys expended, but also of their conduct generally. *Dic. Antiq.*, Ἐυθύνη. — 8. **τοῦθ'**...**αἰσχύνης**, *to such a pitch of dishonor.* Cf. *Ol.*, II. 21. — 9. **κρίνεται**...**θανάτου**, *is tried before you for his life.* Sauppe cites instances from Æschines, Demosthenes, and Diodorus — Autocles, Cephisodotus, Leosthenes, Callistratus, and Chares several times. — 11. **ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου**, *to hazard his life in a struggle with the enemy.* — 12. **τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν**, kidnappers and thieves (originally clothes-stealers in the baths) were punished with death. Lys. 13, 68; Xen. *Mem.*, I. 2, 62. — 12. **τοῦ προσήκοντος**, sc. the death of a soldier. — 14. **κριθέντα**, *by sentence of the law.* — 48. 15. **ἡμῶν**, al. *ὑμῶν*, but *ἡμῶν* is required by *περιερχόμεθα*. It is in emphatic contrast or comparison with *στρατηγῶν*, l. 9, and in emphatic continuation of *νῦν δέ*, l. 7: *while among* US *some go about the agora and report that Philip is concerting with the Lacedæmonians the overthrow of Theban supremacy* (over other Bœotian cities, such as Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Platæa. Cf. Grote, XI. 405), *and is attempting the dissolution of the republics* (of which Athens was the protector and Sparta the perpetual enemy throughout Greece). — **μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων** precedes *φασί* for emphasis. — **πράττειν**, lit. practising, managing. — **διασπᾶν** may depend on *φασί* (Franke, Rehdantz, etc.), or on *πράττειν* (Westermann, Heslop, etc.). It makes little difference — without *πράττειν*, *διασπᾶν* may express what he is *attempting* to do. — **ὡς βασιλέα**, *to the king* of Persia, who was so important a personage in the early periods of Greek history that he needs no other designation, and *βασιλεύς* is even used of him without the article like a proper name. For *ὡς* = *πρός*, see C. 711; Cu. 450; G. 192; H. 621; and L. & S., *Lex.* — 19. **ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς**, cf. *Ol.*, I. 13. — **οἱ δὲ**...**περιερχόμεθα**, *and the rest of us come round severally inventing stories.* Their whole political activity, as Rehdantz remarks, moved in a circle beginning with *περιιόντες* (l. 15) and ending with *περιερχόμεθα*. — 49. 20. **ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι**, *but for my part, though I verily believe he is intoxicated with the greatness of his achievements and dreams many such things in his imagination...still I*

certainly do not think that he intends to act in such a way as to let the silliest of our number know what HE *is going to do.* — **ἐκεῖνος** is emphatic: HE who is so shrewd and politic. — **νὴ τοὺς θεούς** and **μὰ Δία** not only intensify the expression, but make it sarcastic. — 24. **τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων,** *the entire absence of any to hinder him.* Cf. *De Rep. Ord.*, 19: *τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων ἐρημίαν* and *ἐρημίαν* alone, *Ol.*, III. 27.

50. P. 17, l. 1. **ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο** in emphatic contrast: *if we dismiss all* THIS (which is always on our lips) *and make up our minds to* THAT (which is quite too remote from our thoughts). Kennedy renders in substance and with spirit: *let us dismiss such talk and remember only*, etc. — 3. **καὶ ἅπανθ'...εὕρηται,** *and that everything which we ever expected any one to do for us he has been found to have done it against us.* **τινά** means Philip in particular, but it is not to be limited to him. The subject of *εὕρηται* is to be drawn from *τινά*, and *πράξας* is to be understood after it with the same subject. *ἅπανθ'* could be the subject, but the meaning would then be far less spirited. Observe the juxtaposition of the contrasted words *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν*. — 7. **ἂν ταῦτα...ἀπηλλαγμένοι,** *if we make up our minds to this*, I say, *we shall have come to a right determination and also* (*καὶ ...καί*) *have done with idle talk.* — 9. **οὐ γὰρ ἅττα, κ. τ. λ.,** *for we ought not to be speculating what in the world the future will be, but to feel assured that the future will be bad*, etc.

I. Conclusion (51).

51. I HAVE SPOKEN WITHOUT RESERVATION WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE FOR YOUR INTEREST. WOULD THAT I COULD HAVE FELT EQUALLY SURE THAT IT WOULD BE FOR MY INTEREST TO SPEAK THUS FRANKLY.

51. 13. **'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν,** *for myself then*, tacite opponit alios oratores, cf. *Ol.*, III. 8. Franke. *μέν* solitarium, cf. § 10 above. — **οὖν** = *in conclusion.* — **ἄλλοτε.** Although it is the first *Philippic*, this is not the earliest of our orator's public orations. Ex orationibus quas prius habuit, extant Or. *περὶ Συμμοριῶν*, Or. pro Megalopolitanis, et Or. in causa publica adv. Leptinem. Sauppe. — 13-15. **οὔτ' ἄλλοτε ...νῦν τε,** *as I never on any other occasion, in order to court favor, chose to say anything which I have not been convinced would also be for your interest, so now I have spoken frankly and honestly, without any reservation, all that I think.* — **οὔτε — τε** = neque — et = *both not — and*, or *as not — so.* Cu. 625, 2; H. 859. — **πεπεισμένος ὦ** expresses a

settled and abiding conviction. *πεπεισμένος εἴην* would have expressed his conviction from time to time as occasions might arise. Goodwin (Moods and Tenses, 62, R.) considers *εἰλόμην* to be used in a sense approaching that of the gnomic aor. so as to be followed by a subj. — 16. **ἐβουλόμην ἄν**, *I could have wished*, if it were possible, as it is not — supposition contrary to fact, with the condition omitted. C. 636 ; Cu. 544 ; G. 226, 2 ; H. 752. So *ἂν εἶπον*, l. 19. Render : *as I know that it is for your interest to hear the best advice, so I could have wished to know with equal certainty that it will be for the interest of him who has given the advice*, i. e. that it will be for my interest that I have given you the best advice. — 19. **νῦν δέ**, *but as it is, though it is uncertain what the consequences to myself will be, yet in the full conviction that these counsels will be for your interest, if you carry them into execution, I choose to give them.* See a similar apprehension of the difficulty and danger of free speech, with the same resolution notwithstanding, *Ol.*, I. 16 ; III. 21. — **ἐπί** denotes the point of view or ground of action both with *ἀδήλοις...γενησομένοις* and with *τῷ...πεπεῖσθαι*, and might be rendered *in* with both : *in* the uncertainty, and *in* the conviction ; but the *ὅμως* which follows *ἐπ' ἀδήλοις* justifies the rendering *although*, as above. — 22. **νικῴη δ' ὅ τι**, *and may that prevail, whatever it may be, which will be for the interest of you all.* Compare the conclusion of *Ol.*, I. and III.

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

INTRODUCTION.

A PERIOD of about eight years intervenes between the First Philippic and the Second, — the date of the former being B. C. 352 – 351, while the latter was delivered in 344 – 343. To this period belong the Oration De Libertate Rhodiorum (B. C. 351), in which Demosthenes advises the Athenians to forget all the bitterness of the Social War and protect the liberties of Rhodes, threatened by Artemisia, queen of Caria ; the Speech Contra Midiam (350) against his life-long personal enemy and persecutor Midias (the Clodius of Athenian history and of the life of Demosthenes), which, however, was not *delivered*, as the case was compromised ; the three Olynthiacs, which followed each other in rapid succession, Philippics all in reality, though not in name, and all spoken in the year 349 ; and the Oration De Pace (346), in which he dissuades the Athenians, justly offended with the perfidious policy and selfish ambition of Philip, from breaking the peace just made with him, called the Peace of Philocrates, since war with Philip now, besides being hasty, inconsistent, and liable to the reproach of bad faith, involved also war with the Amphictyonic league, of which Philip had recently become the agent and representative. During all this time, Midias, with the countenance of Eubulus, Demades, and other popular demagogues, was availing himself of every opportunity to insult Demosthenes, and even offer him personal violence ; and the latter part of the time our orator was engaged in a partly personal and partly public conflict with Æschines and the other ambassadors, whom he charges with selling the rights and liberties of their country to Philip in the embassies for the ratifica-

tion of the peace; although the famous orations, or appeals to the country, of these rival orators were not made till after the Second Philippic. Meanwhile Philip has destroyed Olynthus, captured or received the surrender of the other Chalcidian cities, marched into Thrace, and stripped Cersobleptes of no small part of his dominions, taken a decisive part in the Sacred War, and brought it to a close in the utter ruin of the Phocian towns, partly flattered and bribed and partly compelled Athens to make with him a dishonourable peace (the Peace of Philocrates), and now, having been admitted to the Amphictyonic Council in the place of the ruined Phocians, he is even elected by that council to preside at the Pythian games instead of the humbled and disgraced Athenians.

The circumstances which gave occasion to the Second Philippic are thus clearly and concisely stated by Thirlwall in his History of Greece (Vol. II. p. 131, Amer. ed.): "The scanty notices remaining of the history of this period being chiefly rhetorical allusions, which are often extremely vague, and were seldom meant to convey the simple truth, do not permit us to follow Philip's movements step by step. We perceive, however, very clearly, that he was constantly endeavoring to extend his power and influence, either by arms or negotiation, on every side of his dominions. We hear of expeditions or intrigues towards the north and the south, the east and the west; and, though their immediate objects were widely remote from each other, they seem all to have tended towards one end, that of weakening and curbing Athens, which, if these projects had succeeded, would at length have found herself completely enclosed in the toils before she had received a wound. It is probable that Philip's eye embraced all these points at one view, and that he was continually prosecuting his designs in opposite quarters, though we happen to find them mentioned only in succession. It is to Peloponnesus that our attention is first directed, as the scene of a diplomatic contest which portended a fiercer struggle. Here Philip had succeeded, almost without an effort, to the sway which Thebes had won through the victories of Epaminondas; for Sparta, weakened as she was, was still an object of

jealousy to her neighbors, whose independence she viewed with a malignant eye; and since Thebes, having in turn sunk from the height of her power, was no longer able to afford protection to her Peloponnesian allies, they naturally transferred their allegiance to the king of Macedonia, on whose aid even Thebes had been forced to cast herself. We are not informed of any new occasion of hostilities that arose between them and Sparta immediately after the close of the Phocian War. Yet it appears that they found, or thought themselves in danger, so as to be led to cultivate Philip's friendship. He espoused their cause without reserve, declared himself the protector of Messenia, and called upon the Spartans to renounce their claims upon her; and when his demand was rejected, as it seems to have been in a somewhat contemptuous tone,* both supplied his allies with troops and money, and announced his purpose of leading a much larger force into Peloponnesus in person. (See this Oration, §§ 15 – 17.) It may easily be supposed that these favors and promises rendered him highly popular throughout the confederacy, of which Messene, Megalopolis, and Argos were the leading members, and that he was extolled as the friend of liberty, the champion of the oppressed. Demosthenes himself, in a speech delivered about three years after the end of the war (*De Falsa Leg.*, 296), mentions with indignation that many of the Arcadian commonwealths had decreed brazen statues and crowns in honor of Philip, and had resolved, if he should enter Peloponnesus, to admit him into their towns; and that the Argives had followed their example.

"These proceedings, of course, soon became known at Athens, and excited no little anxiety there. An embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, with Demosthenes at its head [and at his suggestion], to counteract the progress of the Macedonian influence. He went to Messene, and, it seems, to Argos. In one of his extant speeches [the oration before us, §§ 20 – 25] he has given us a specimen of the manner in which he endeavored to rouse

* Philip is *said* (Plutarch, De Garrul., 511, A.) to have written to the Spartans: Αἰ ἐμβάλλω εἰς την Λακονικὴν, ἀναστάτους ὑμᾶς ποιήσω. The laconic answer was, Αἴκα.

the jealousy of the Peloponnesians against Philip. He referred to Philip's conduct in the case of Olynthus as a proof that no reliance could be placed on his professions, or even his acts of friendship, which were all meant to inveigle those who trusted him into bondage or ruin. . . . He dwelt much on the bad faith which Philip had shown in his dealings with Athens, either in his promises about Amphipolis, or in those by which he had deceived the people through their ambassadors in the negotiations for peace. The natural and necessary hostility between a monarch, whether king or tyrant, and all free and legal governments, was also a topic by which the orator strove to alarm republican prejudices. But though he affirms that he was heard with applause, he admits that his warnings had produced no practical effect, and that Philip continued after, as before, to enjoy the confidence of his Peloponnesian allies; and some embassies which were afterwards sent with the same view, were attended with no better result. Philip did not let those attempts pass unnoticed. Even if he did not deem it necessary for his honor to repel the charge of perfidy which had been so publicly brought against him, he may have thought it a favorable opportunity for displaying and thereby strengthening his connection with Peloponnesus. He sent an embassy to Athens, which seems to have been headed by Python, whose eloquence could sustain a comparison with that of Demosthenes himself (Diod., XVI. 85); and it was no doubt at Philip's instigation that his envoys were accompanied by those of Messene and Argos. The Macedonians were instructed to expostulate on the groundless accusations which had been brought against their king, and formally to deny that he had ever broken his oath to the Athenians; the Peloponnesians were to complain of the countenance which Athens had given to the attempts of Sparta against their liberty.

"This embassy gave occasion to the Second Philippic of Demosthenes, which seems to have been the speech with which he prefaced a motion for the answer which he proposed to give to the ambassadors. It is possible that more than one assembly was held on the business, — one, perhaps, to consider each sub-

ject [the complaints of Philip and those of the Peloponnesians], — and that on one of these occasions Python vindicated his master's conduct in a speech which Demosthenes afterwards describes as bold and vehement, though he himself met it with a reply which extorted tokens of approbation even from the ministers of Philip's allies. But this was evidently not the occasion of the Second Philippic. That is addressed to the people, not in reply to the foreigners, but to the Macedonian, Philippizing faction at home, and more particularly to Æschines, who, it seems, had recently taken Philip's part, and had supported Python's arguments with his testimony. Its main object is to excite the suspicion and resentment of the Athenians, on the one hand, against Philip, and, on the other, against the orators who had served as his instruments to overreach them. He contends that the motive which had induced Philip to prefer the interest of Thebes to that of Athens at the end of the war was not the presence of a force which restrained him, still less any regard to justice; for he who maintained the independence of Messenia against Sparta could not consistently aid the Thebans in reducing the other Bœotian towns to subjection. The motive was, that he expected the one state, if its own interests were but secured, would be readily subservient to his designs against the liberties of Greece, while he knew that no prospect of selfish advantage would ever bribe Athens to resign her glorious inheritance, the foremost post of resistance to foreign attacks on the national independence. . . . . All this, however, is but subordinate and introductory to the concluding passage, in which the orator reminds his hearers of the disappointment they had suffered, and points their indignation against its authors. He does not name either Philocrates or Æschines, but alludes in a manner which could not be mistaken to the ribaldry with which the one had silenced his warnings, and to the solemn assurances or dexterous insinuations by which the other had quieted the people's apprehensions. The men who had thus involved the state in its present embarrassments ought, he says, to be charged with the task of defending its conduct against those who questioned it. At least, it was fit that the language by

which they had caused so much mischief, which was not yet ended, should not be forgotten.

"It is to be regretted that the proposed reply [to the demands of the ambassadors] has not been preserved; it probably contained a manifesto which would have thrown some light on the history of this period. The tone of the speech leads us to suppose that it [the reply] made no material concession; there is rather, as we shall see, reason to believe that it advanced some new claims; yet it so far satisfied Philip and his allies as to avoid an open rupture."

Grote says (*His. Gr.*, XI. 615, note): "Who these envoys were, or from whence they came, does not appear from the oration. Libanius, in his *Argument*, says that they came jointly from Philip, from the Argeians, and from the Messenians. Dionysius Hal. (ad Ammæum, p. 737) states that they came out of Peloponnesus. I cannot bring myself to believe, on the authority of Libanius, that there were any envoys present from Philip. The tenor of the discourse appears to contradict that supposition." Whiston accedes to the same opinion. Curtius (*His. Gr.*, V. 375) says: "Macedonian envoys arrived at Athens together with the Peloponnesian in order to support the cause of the latter, and at the same time to proffer complaints as to the uninterrupted insults heaped upon the king on the Attic orators' tribune." This last historian, however, supposes Python to have visited Athens somewhat later and at the head of another Macedonian embassy. The data are not sufficient to settle these details. But the authorities all agree in general in regard to the time, occasion, and object of this oration.

Demosthenes was now somewhere from thirty-eight to forty years of age, in the full maturity of his powers, and advancing towards the zenith of his influence. He had recently been sent as ambassador to the king of Macedon. He had just returned from an honorable and most important embassy to the Peloponnesian states. He was already not only the most admired orator, but the most trusted statesman of Athens. His reputation for patriotism and eloquence extended through all Greece.

"It was long since such an assembly of the citizens had been

held at Athens. The city of Aristides seemed to have come to life again. The Peloponnesian envoys could not refrain from acknowledging the grandeur of the bearing of a civic community under such leaders; and in so far Demosthenes actually gained his immediate object, that the dangerous hostilities in the peninsula were appeased, and that no opportunity was given to Philip for intervention." — CURTIUS, *His. Gr.*, V. p. 376.

ANALYSIS.

A. Exordium (§§ 1 – 5).

B. Main proposition, with the principal reasons for it (6 – 12).

C. Objections, or counter-propositions stated and answered (13 – 19).

D. Extract from speech to the Messenians, cited in confirmation and warning (20 – 27).

E. Answer (to the embassies) which the orator recommends (28). Omitted in the text.

F. Conclusion. Warning against bad advisers (28 – 37).

NOTES.

A. Exordium (1–5).

1–5. WE HAVE HAD QUITE ENOUGH OF SPEECHES AND ARGUMENTS TO PROVE THAT PHILIP HAS VIOLATED THE PEACE. WHAT WE NOW NEED IS WISE COUNSELS AND DEFINITE PLANS ON THE PART OF THE ORATORS, AND ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLE DECISION AND PROMPT ACTION TO CHECK HIM IN THE EXECUTION OF HIS DESIGNS. HITHERTO YOUR STRENGTH HAS BEEN IN ARGUMENT, PHILIP'S IN ACTION. IT IS NOW HIGH TIME FOR THE ASSEMBLY AND ITS ADVISERS TO PREFER COUNSELS AND MEASURES THAT WILL SAVE US, INSTEAD OF THOSE WHICH ARE EASY AND AGREEABLE.

1. Page 18, line 2. **πράττει καὶ βιάζεται.** *πράττει* is generic, *βιάζεται* is specific and definitive: *about the acts and aggressions of Philip contrary to the peace.* Heslop renders: about the acts, I should say the acts of *aggression* by which Philip is infringing the peace; Whiston: Philip's acts and attempts; Kennedy: measures and infringements of the peace. It is a bold and forcible, and remarkably climacteric example of our orator's fondness for pairs of kindred words. The peace meant is that of Philocrates, B. C. 346. — 4. **φιλανθρώπους** is rendered by Smead *plausible;* by Rehdantz, *human;* by Kennedy, *generous;* by Heslop, *sympathetic.* At the highest, it is worthy of note, how far it falls below the lofty and universal scope which Christianity has imparted to our word *philanthropic.* The word is doubtless intended to express the interest and sympathy of Athens for the Greeks as wronged and oppressed by Philip. — **φαινομένους** is objective = *are shown to be*, or *approve themselves as being;* **δοκοῦντας** is subjective = *seem: I always observe that the speeches in our behalf approve themselves as just and kind, and so far as speaking is concerned all those who censure Philip always seem to say what is proper, and yet nothing is produced* (that is, no plan is brought forward) *so to*

speak, that ought to be and not a thing for which these speeches are worth hearing. — **γιγνόμενον**, l. 6, is not equivalent to *πραττόμενον*; it does not refer to *action* in the field; for, as Smead remarks, Demosthenes was not at this time in favor of war or belligerent measures; on the contrary, it was only a year or two previous that he had delivered his *Oration de Pace*, which was an argument for preserving the peace. But the reference, as the word and the circumstances both show, is to the *bringing forth* of counsels and measures on the bema; and the complaint is that the orators only heap up invectives against Philip, when they should bring forward definite plans for the guidance of the people; in other words, the times demanded, not orators, but statesmen. — 6. **ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν** limits and softens the otherwise too strong and absolute negation expressed by *οὐδέν*. — 2. 8. **εἰς τοῦτο...ὥσθ'**, cf. *εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως...ὥστ'*, *Phil.* I. 37. — **προηγμένα**, *brought*, lit. brought forward, as it were, to a *climax* or *pitch* of difficulty. Cf. *Phil.* I. 9, *οἷ προεληλυθε ἀσελγείας*. — **τῇ πόλει**, lit. *in respect to the state.* Render in idiomatic English: *all the affairs of the state.* — 10. **μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον**, *the more fully and the more clearly.* — **καὶ...παραβαίνοντα καὶ...ἐπιβουλεύοντα**, *both of violating the peace with you* (Athenians) *and of plotting against all the Greeks*, or *καὶ...καί* = *not only...but also.* The emphasis is on the latter and the more comprehensive view. — 13. **χαλεπώτερον.** The orators only increase the difficulty and the perplexity unless they answer the real question, *τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν*, WHAT IS TO BE DONE? — 3. 14. **πάντας**, al. *πάντες*. If *πάντες* is the correct reading, it finds its syntax only in the *ἡμεῖς*, l. 16, and the *ὑμεῖς*, l. 19, which are the two parts of which it is the whole. If *πάντας* is the true reading, it is the subject of *κωλύειν*: *and the cause of this is that when* ALL *ought to check those who seek to aggrandize themselves by deeds and by acts,* NOT *by words only.* — 16. **οἱ παριόντες**, lit. we who come before you, is a frequent designation of the *orators.* — 17. **καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν** are appositives of *τούτων*: *we orators stand aloof from these things,* viz. *moving resolutions and giving advice...but are continually rehearsing*, etc. That is, we are not statesmen, but mere orators. — 18. **ὀκνοῦντες** expresses the motive: *through fear of incurring your* (lit. with you) *displeasure.* — 20. **οἱ καθήμενοι** is a designation for the members of the *ἐκκλησία* as *sitting* and *hearing* in opposition to the orators as rising (*ἀναστάς*, *Phil.* I. 1) and coming forward (*παριόντες*) to speak. Cf. *De Or.*, 169: *πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο*, and *Dic.*

Antiq., art. Ἐκκλησία. — 20. **ὡς μὲν...παρεσκεύασθε**, *are better prepared than Philip to make fair speeches* (or just arguments), *and to understand another when he speaks, but to prevent him from doing these things upon which he is now intent you are wholly inactive* (take no steps whatever. Whiston.)

4. P. 19, l. 3. **ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. λ.** This clause is without a connective, because it explains the preceding, like an appositive. The satire of the sentence is as keen as the logic is conclusive: *you succeed best severally in that in which you severally find your occupation and about which you feel an interest*, viz. *he in deeds and you in words.* — **ἑκατέροις**, always of two parties, here, of course, refers to the Athenians and Philip. — 5. 8. **καὶ μὴ...ἡμᾶς**, *and how* (that) *they shall not proceed* (cf. note on *προηγμένα*, § 2) *still farther unperceived by us all.* — For **προελθόντα λήσει ἡμᾶς**, see C. 677 f; Cu. 398, 590; G. 279, 2; H. 544, 799. — 10. **μηδ᾽...δυνησόμεθα**, *and how* (that) *a power shall not rise up against us so great that we shall be utterly unable to resist it.* — With **μέγεθος δυνάμεως** compare *κάλλη...ἱερῶν*, *Ol.*, III. 25. — 14. **προαιρετέον** is followed by a dat. of the agent (C. 458; Cu. 434; G. 188, 4; H. 600), an acc. of the object (C. 682; Cu. 596, 2; G. 281; H. 804), and a gen. by virtue of the *προ-*.

It will be observed that this introduction is much longer than that of the First Philippic or of either of the Olynthiacs. The want of statesmanship in the other Athenian orators and of definite plans for decisive action in the people was not only Demosthenes's justification for his speech, but it was a vital point in regard to their counsels and conduct. Hence he dwells on it, and makes it at once his exordium and a part of his oration.

B. Main proposition, with the principal reasons for it (6–12).

6–12. PHILIP IS DOUBTLESS YOUR ENEMY, AND IS MAKING ALL HIS PREPARATIONS AGAINST *YOU*. AND WITH GOOD REASON; FOR HE EXPECTS TO FIND IN THE THEBANS, MESSENIANS, AND ARGIVES WILLING DUPES AND SELFISH TOOLS OF HIS AMBITION; BUT ALL YOUR ANTECEDENTS AND THE HISTORY OF YOUR ANCESTORS SHOW HIM THAT YOUR FRIENDSHIP CAN BE GAINED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF JUSTICE AND THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE GREEKS.

6. 15. **Πρῶτον μέν** have no formal correlative words. The first question, viz. what is the real character and relation of Philip, with the arguments and illustrations by which the answer is supported, occupy the oration as far as § 28. Then follow the still more prac-

tical questions, what is to be done, and what answer should be returned to the ambassadors. — 16. **ὁρῶν**, *although* he sees, or *while yet* he sees. The part. is concessive. — 17. **μηδ'...παρασκευάζεσθαι.** Observe the force of the middle voice and the emphasis on ὑμᾶς: *and that it is not against you that he is making all his preparations.* — 20. **δι' οὓς** = *propter quas;* **δι' ὧν** (l. 21) = per quas. Franke. The latter is the means; the former the cause or reason: *by reason of which I have come* (lit. it has come to me) *to expect the contrary, and by which I am led to think Philip an enemy.* — 22. **βέλτιον προορᾶν.** The present expresses character or habit: *to have more foresight.* For the justice of this claim, here so modestly put forth, see Introd., p. 54. — **ἐὰν ..προσθήσεσθε**, *but if they who are confident and have trusted him* (have the more foresight), *you will give your adherence to them.* Al. προσθῆσθε, but the construction is changed. — 7. 24. **ἐγὼ ...λογίζομαι**, *well, then, I reason thus.* Rehdantz places a colon after λογίζομαι. — 26. **πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην.** Immediately after ratifying the peace (of Philocrates, 346) at Pheræ he marched to Thermopylæ, and, joined by the Bœotians, overran Phocis, and put an end to the existence of the Phocians as a nation, having excluded them from a share in the peace with that intention. Grote, XI. 581, 582; Curtius, V. 329.

P. 20, l. 1. **πῶς...ἐχρήσατο**, *what use did he make of these* successes? — 2. **τί δή ποτε**, *why so, pray?* that is, why did he prefer to favor Thebes rather than Athens. Observe the rapid succession of questions and answers. — 3. **ὅτι...ἐξετάζων**, *because making his calculations with a view to his own aggrandizement and the subjection of everything to his own power.* — 8. 6. **ὅτι τῇ μέν, κ. τ. λ.**, *that to a city like ours, on the one hand, and to a people of our character, he could offer no sufficient bribe, and he could do nothing by which you could be persuaded for the sake of your own separate interest to sacrifice any of the other Greeks to him.* — 10. **ἀλλὰ καί, κ. τ. λ.**, *but both out of regard to* (lit. making account of) *justice and through fear of the dishonor attaching to the thing* and in the exercise *of a proper foresight* (after προσήκει, προορᾶσθαι is of course to be understood) *you will oppose him* (for the change of construction, cf. προσθήσεσθε, § 6) *if he undertake to pursue any such course just as much* (ὁμοίως...ὥσπερ) *as if you happened to be at war with him.* — 9. 14. **τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους**, *but the Thebans, on the other hand, he believed* (*just as the event proved*), *in return for what he was doing for them* (lit. themselves, for it is repre-

sented from *their own* point of view), *would allow him to manage everything else to suit himself.* — 16. **οὐχ ὅπως** = οὐ λέγω ὅπως = *non modo non: would not only not oppose and check.* — 19. **ταὐτὰ ὑπειληφώς** expresses the *reason* for the favors he is showing them: *and now having* (i. e. because he has) *conceived the same opinion of the Messenians and the Argives he is conferring favors on them.* — 20. **καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον**, *encomium on you*, — an unfrequent use of κατά (which with the gen. usually means *against*, cf. κατ' Ἀργείων, l. 26), yet not without parallel. Cf. *De Cor.*, 215. — **10.** 21. **κέκρισθε γάρ**, *for by these acts* (of Philip) *you have been adjudged to be the only people of all* (Greece) *who would not for any price.* Philip's acts were a *public declaration* of his *judgment* to this effect. — 24. **τὴν εἰς...εὔνοιαν**, *your good-will towards the Greeks*, i. e. your patriotic regard for them. — 25. **καὶ ταῦτ', κ. τ. λ.**, *and both these opinions, both this so favorable in regard to you and that so different in respect to the Argives and Thebes, he has very naturally formed, not only in view of the present, but also when he takes the previous history of the parties into the account.*

11. P. 21, l. 3. **ὥστ'...βασιλεῖ**, *so that* (i. e. so, provided that) *they would submit to the king.* For ὥστε expressing a fixed condition, see L. & S. 1, 5; Madv. 166 b. — 5. **ἡνίκ'**, sc. before the battle of Platæa. — **ὁ τούτων πρόγονος**, *the ancestor of these* men, — this whole race of Macedonian kings, — a little spiteful. — 6. **κῆρυξ**, sent by Mardonius. The whole story, and the spirited answer of the Athenians, is given by Herodotus. VIII. 140–144. Whiston. — 9. **λέγειν** as present denotes the process = *to be telling*; **εἰπεῖν** as aorist emphasizes the impossibility that it should ever be fully *told.* — 11. **ἔστι γάρ**, *for really the deeds of* THOSE *men were too great for any one to speak them in words.* — **ἔστι** is emphatic. — **τἀκείνων** expresses distinction. — **ὡς** implies an ellipsis of οὕτω μεγάλα: lit. *greater than* so great *as*, etc. C. 711. — **τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δέ**, *the former...the latter.* The Thebans joined the Persians and fought against the Greeks; the Argives were neutral. Herod., VII. 150. — **12.** 14. **ἰδίᾳ**, ant. to κοινῇ = *separately.* Cf. ἰδίας ὠφελείας, § 8. — **12.** 14. **οἶδεν**, *he knows* in view of the above facts. — 16. **ἡγεῖτ' οὖν**, *therefore he believed.* — **ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις**, lit. *on the basis of the right*, i. e. on condition that his aims are just. — 20. **οὐ γάρ**, *for it is not surely because he sees that they have more ships than we.* — **γε** not only emphasizes **τριήρεις**, but satirizes the absurdity of the idea. — 21. **οὐδ'...ἀφέστηκεν**, *nor*

is it because he has acquired an inland empire and renounced that of the sea-coast and of the ports, and so does not seek the friendship of a maritime state like Athens.

C. Objections or counter-propositions stated and answered (**13–19**).

13–19. DO YOU SAY, HE PREFERS THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE THEBANS TO OURS, BECAUSE HE REGARDS THEIR CLAIMS AS MORE JUST, OR BECAUSE HE WAS FORCED TO ESPOUSE THEIR CAUSE? HIS CONDUCT IS UTTERLY INCONSISTENT WITH BOTH THESE SUPPOSITIONS. HIS WHOLE COURSE OF ACTION HAS BEEN AGAINST US. HE KNOWS THIS, AND HE KNOWS THAT YOU ARE AWARE OF IT. THEREFORE HE HATES YOU, AND COURTS LESS DISCERNING AND MORE COMPLYING FRIENDS.

13. 26. **Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί'**, *yes but*, like Latin *ast*, or *at enim*, introduces an objection for the sake of answering it. Sometimes *νὴ Δία* precedes *ἀλλά*; in other passages *γάρ* follows *νὴ Δία*. See Heslop in loc. — **πάντα...εἰδώς**, *though he* (Philip) *knows all this*, sc. your power and his position.

P. 22, l. 1. **τῷ...ἀξιοῦν**, because the *claims of the Thebans are more just than yours.* The Thebans claimed Orchomenus and Coronea in Bœotia. Sparta claimed Messene on the same principle as a conquered dependency. But Philip assisted the independence of Messene, and thus cut himself off from consistently supporting the claims of Thebes over Orchomenus and Coronea, and yet did in fact compel them to submit to her supremacy. It is this inconsistency which is asserted in the sentence, *ἀλλὰ τοῦτον, κ. τ. λ.*, *but this is just the plea of all others which it is impossible for him* NOW *to urge*, for it is utterly inconsistent with the course which he has just taken in regard to Sparta and Messene. — 5. **τότε...παραδούς.** At the close of the Sacred War Philip restored to the Thebans these towns, which had been in the hands of the Phocians since B. C. 354. — **14.** 8. **ἐβιάσθη** is made emphatic by being placed before *νὴ Δία*, *yes, but he was* FORCED, *it may be said.* — 9. **παρὰ γνώμην** limits *συνεχώρησε*, *he yielded these points contrary to his intention.* — 10. **ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς**, *because he was surrounded by.* — 11. **καλῶς** is often simply *well, very well, sehr wohl.* Here it is manifestly ironical. Whiston renders it *good!* Heslop, *admirable!* Kennedy, *excellent!* — 11. **οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν**, *so then they* SAY, *do they, that he is going to be suspicious towards the Thebans!* — 13. **Ἐλάτειαν.** Elatea was the metropolis of Phocis on the frontier of Locris. It was seventy-eight miles from

Athens, and commanded the approach from Macedonia and Thessaly to Bœotia and thus to Attica. Hence the alarm at Athens when, shortly before the battle at Chæronea, news came that Philip had seized Elatea, and which our orator describes so graphically, *De Cor.*, § 169, seq. The Thessalians led a detachment of Persians through Elatea, when they invaded Greece. The walls of the city were dismantled at the close of the Phocian War, and the rebuilding of them would be regarded as friendly to the Phocians and unfriendly to the Thebans. — 15. 14. **ὁ δὲ ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ.,** *yes*, (*δέ*, lit. *but*; it is corrective of *φασὶ μέν* = this is not mere hearsay, it is matter of fact), *yes, but these things he is* GOING *to do and he* WILL *be* GOING *to do* (that is, he never will *do* them), *but he is not* GOING *to join with the Messenians and the Argives against the Lacedæmonians, nay, he is actually* (*καί*) *sending in mercenaries*, etc. — 18. **τοὺς μὲν ὄντας,** *he is for overthrowing the Lacedæmonians, the certain* (*τοὺς ὄντας*) *enemies of the Thebans*, (this does not look like mistrusting the Thebans!) *and is he now for saving the Phocians, the very people whom he himself recently destroyed?* The inconsistency is too palpable. The Thebans have just destroyed Phocis; will he now rebuild it in opposition to Thebes, and that too at the very moment when he is seeking to overthrow the Lacedæmonians, who are the confessed enemies of the Thebans and friends of the Phocians! The inconsistency is more definitely pointed out in the next section. — 16. 21. **καὶ τίς,** *pray who can believe this?* — **ἐγὼ μέν, κ. τ. λ.,** *for I for my part do not think that Philip, if he either had been forced to act contrary to his will* (*ἄκων* here = *παρὰ γνώμην*, l. 9) *before* (sc. when he was acting with the Thebans against Phocis), *or if he was now giving up the Thebans.* — 25. **κἀκεῖνα,** the same as *τὰ πρῶτα*, l. 22. — 26. **ἐκ** = *from*, i. e. *in view of*, or, *as an inference from: from his whole conduct* it is plain, *if one looks at it in the right light, that he is busily arranging* (concocting, Heslop) *everything against our state.*

17. P. 23, l. 1. **καὶ τοῦτ᾽...συμβαίνει,** *and this befalls him now at least sure enough by a kind of necessity.* — **νῦν γε δὴ** is opposed to the alleged compulsion of his *previous* conduct (*ἐβιάσθη*, § 14). — 3. **ἄρχειν, κ. τ. λ.,** explanatory of *λογίζεσθε*, hence without a connective. See note § 4. — **τούτου** is gen. of respect: *in regard to this.* — 4. **ἀδικεῖ** continues the explanation. With *πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον* it includes the past with the present: *he has been wronging you for a long time now* and is still doing it. — 5. **οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν,** *for it is by holding what*

is really yours that he has secured all the rest. οἷς is dat. by attraction to τούτοις, which is dat. of means. —18. 11. **δικαίως ἂν…μισεῖν,** *you would justly hate him.* Heslop encloses ἄν in brackets, and Schaefer says, delenda est. Many editors read, νομίζοι. — **παρώξυνται,** Anglice, *exasperated.* — 13. **ποιήσας** is opposed to πείσεσθαι, and τι may well be understood with it, *by doing something first = by striking the first blow.* — 13. **ἐγρήγορεν…θεραπεύει.** Observe the vividness of the asyndeton: *he is awake, he is on the alert, he courts against our city.* Rehdantz compares the German: Alles rennet, rettet, flüchtet. — **ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει** can be taken either with ἐφέστηκεν (Franke, Kennedy) or with θεραπεύει (Reiske, Dindorf, Whiston, Heslop, Rehdantz). — 19. 16. **οὓς…προόψεσθαι,** *who, by reason of their cupidity, he thinks, will be satisfied with the present state of things, while at the same time (μὲν…δέ) through dulness of understanding they will not foresee any of the consequences.* — **σκαιότητα,** lit. *lefthandedness.* Whiston renders it *obliquity*; Rehdantz, *Thorheit.* — 18. **καίτοι… μετρίως,** *yet surely men even of moderate intelligence.* — 20. **ἔμοιγ'… συνέβη,** *I had occasion to speak of,* sc. in the embassy to the Peloponnesus. See Introduction, p. 92; *De Cor.*, 79; Grote, XI. 614.

D. Extract from speech to the Messenians, cited in confirmation and warning (20–27).

20–27. LEARN WISDOM FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OLYNTHIANS AND THE THESSALIANS, WHOM HE BLINDED BY GIFTS ONLY TO DESTROY OR ENSLAVE THEM. AVOID TOO CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITH DESPOTS. MISTRUST ALL KINGS AS THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY ENEMIES OF REPUBLICS.

20. This indirect way of warning his countrymen by a repetition of what the orator said originally to another people has been a favorite example with rhetoricians of the figure called *apostrophe* or *aversio.* See *Aquila Rom. De Fig.*, c. 9, quoted by Rehdantz. —23. **Πῶς …δυσχερῶς,** *with what vexation.* — 24. **ἀκούειν…εἰ…λέγοι,** *used to hear whenever any one said anything,* or *would hear if any one said anything.* — **ἀκούειν** = ἀκούοιεν ἄν, only somewhat more positive. The condition (εἰ…λέγοι) and the conclusion (ἀκούειν) both express repeated action. —25. **κατ'…χρόνους,** *during those times.* — **ὅτ'…ἀφίει,** *when he proposed to give up Anthemus to them.* This was in B. C. 358–357. The district of Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therma, afterwards Thessalonica (Grote, XI. 334). Whiston. Libanius calls it τὸ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Ὀλυνθίων.

P. 24, l. 1. **καὶ τὴν μέν, κ. τ. λ.**, *and took upon himself the enmity with us = our enmity.* Al. ὑμᾶς (Heslop); but most of the editions have ἡμᾶς, which is required in a speech to the Messenians: *us* Athenians. — **ἀνῄρητο...ἐδεδώκει.** The plup. follows the imp. to express the consequences which he *had thereby brought* upon himself: lit. *and had thereby* taken upon himself, etc. — 4. **λέγοντος ἄν.** λέγοντος denotes the condition = εἴ τις ἔλεγεν, and ἄν goes with πιστεῦσαι to express the conclusion: *or would have believed it if any one had told them.* — 6. **πόλυν**, sc. χρόνον, in reality it was for *all* time, as Wolf remarks; but that was more than Demosthenes knew. — 8. **προδοθέντες, κ. τ. λ.** The bribery and treachery of Lasthenes and Euthycrates, citizens of Olynthus (hence ὑπ' ἀλλήλων), is often alluded to by Demosthenes. See *De Cor.*, § 48 and note there. — 10. **αὗται λίαν**, *these too close connections.* λίαν used as an adj. after αὗται, as it often is and any adverb may be after an article. In language and in sentiment this *gnome* of the Athenian orator reminds us of the advice of Washington to his countrymen to avoid "entangling alliances" with European powers. — 22. 11. **τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί**, *and what the Thessalians?* i. e. what did they *expect?* προσεδόκων is to be supplied, as is shown by the preceding and following context; see προσδοκᾶν, l. 3 above and l. 13 below. — 12. **τοὺς τυράννους**, the hereditary despots of Pheræ in Magnesia. — **Νίκαιαν**, Nicæa, a fortress which commanded the pass of Thermopylæ, was in the possession of the Phocians till it came into the hands of Philip about B. C. 346, and soon after the close of the Sacred War (B. C. 352) it was transferred to the Thessalians. Magnesia, a narrow strip of Thessaly between the mouth of the Peneus and the Pagasæan Bay (see Intr. to *Phil.* I. p. 51) was restored to the Thessalians by Philip about the same time. — 13. **προσδοκᾶν...αὐτοῖς**, *do you think they expected that the decemvirate now established would exist among them?* In *Phil.* III. 26, Philip is said to have established *tetrarchies* (not decarchies) in Thessaly. But the discrepancy is only apparent. He seems at the same time to have availed himself of the old division of the country into four districts (Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Histiæotis), and revived the distinction of tetrarchies. But in each of these tetrarchies, or over the country as a whole (it is not agreed which), he also established a decemvirate, that is, a despotic or oligarchic government administered by ten men Whiston well remarks that the Lacedæmonians had been in the habit of appointing

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decemvirates in towns which they wished to keep under their control, and the unpopularity of these bodies in the Peloponnesus would naturally excite a prejudice against the supposed author of such institutions elsewhere. It was therefore a good argumentum ad invidiam against Philip with the Messenians. — 15. **πυλαίαν,** strictly the autumn meeting of the Amphictyonic council at Thermopylæ, and then generally that council itself, or the right of sending deputies to it. The Phocians had deprived the Thessalians of membership in the Amphictyonic council, and Philip restored it to them (ἀποδόντα). — 23. 17. **ὑμεῖς δέ** = *so* YOU; thus the orator emphasizes the lesson which the Messenians should learn from the experience of the Olynthians and Thessalians. They were now experiencing the favors of Philip as those nations had done: pray that you may not experience at length his deception and treachery as they did. — **μέν** and **δέ** put in emphatic contrast the two parts of this experience. — **ἀπεύχεσθε** = Lat. *deprecate.* — **ἤδη...ἰδεῖν** Heslop renders, *awake to see;* Whiston, *see at last.* — 24. 25. **προσδεῖται,** *besides* (προσ-) being merely mechanical (χειροποίητα) they also *require the expenditure of money.* — **ἓν δέ τι, κ. τ. λ.,** *but one common safeguard the nature* (instinct, Whiston) *of sensible men possesses in itself, — that* does not require to be manufactured, nor to be bought with money, — such is the contrast suggested by μέν, l. 24, and δέ, l. 25. — **τι** = *of a certain sort,* indefinite here, but explained farther on.

P. 25, l. 1. **πλήθεσι** = πολιτείαις, *republics.* — 2. **ἀπιστία.** Compare *Ol.*, I. 5: ἄπιστον ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ τυραννίς, and also the maxim of the founders of our republic: "The price of liberty is eternal *vigilance.*" — **ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε,** *hold on to this* against every assault (ἀντ-). — 3. **οὐδὲν μή, κ. τ. λ.,** idem quod οὐ μὴ δεινόν τι πάθητε. Franke: *if you continue* (subj. pres.) *to cherish this, you can be exposed to no danger.* — 5. **καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας,** not only its principles, but *also* (or *even*) *its titles,* or in more idiomatic English, *its very titles.* This speech at Messene was well worthy to be repeated in Athens, and is equally deserving of remembrance and observance in modern times. — 26. 10. **ἀκούσαντες** is concessive and **ἐκεῖνοι** is in emphatic contrast with ὑμεῖς, l. 17: *Those people, although they heard these words and applauded the sentiments loudly and long* (imperf. part.), *and although they heard many other speeches from the ambassadors both in my presence and again after* my departure to other cities, *none the more* for all that, *as it appears, will they shun the friendship of Philip,*

nor his promises...but you, etc. —16. **τῷ λογισμῷ**, *in their reason*, or *better judgment*. —27. 17. **οἱ καὶ συνιέντες**, *who both understand yourselves.* By this compliment he gilds the bitter pill of reproof and warning. —18. **τῶν λεγόντων...ἡμῶν**, gen. of source after ἀκούοντες, which is also followed by its direct object in the succeeding clauses: *and hear from us orators that you are plotted against.* —19. **περιστοιχίζεσθε.** See note on *Phil.* I. 9. — **ἐκ τοῦ...ὑπομείναντες**, *in consequence of doing* NOTHING *now, you will, before you are aware, as it seems to me, have to endure* EVERYTHING, that is, the very worst. Rehdantz follows Σ in reading ὥστε instead of ἐκ τοῦ, and Kennedy renders: *you, I fear, to escape present exertion, will come to ruin, ere you are aware.* — **ἡ παραυτίχ' ἡδονή**, *the pleasure of the moment.* — **ποθ' ὕστερον**, *at some future day.*

E. Answer (to the embassies) which the orator recommends (28).

28. YOU SHOULD DELIBERATE BY YOURSELVES HEREAFTER ON THE COURSE OF ACTION WHICH IT BEHOOVES YOU TO ADOPT. I WILL NOW TELL YOU WHAT ANSWER YOU OUGHT TO RETURN BY THE AMBASSADORS.

28. 25. **ὕστερον**, *after* the ambassadors have returned home. — **ἃ δὲ...ἐψηφισμένοι**, lit. *what answer having now returned* (i. e. by returning what answer) *you would have voted as you ought* = *what answer you ought to vote.* — **ἀποκρινάμενοι** denotes the manner or the condition, and ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι the conclusion. Here, doubtless, the orator submitted a form of answer, a written document, which is not only not preserved, but the MSS. do not even indicate the place for it, although many of the editions have inserted its title, viz. 'ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. See notes on ΠΟΡΟΥ 'ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ, *Phil.* I. 30. We cannot but wish with Thirlwall that the answer had been preserved. See Introd., p. 95.

F. Conclusion. Warning against bad advisers (28-37).

28-37. JUSTICE WOULD REQUIRE YOU TO SUMMON BEFORE YOU THOSE AMBASSADORS WHO BROUGHT YOU SUCH FALSE AND FLATTERING REPORTS OF PHILIP, AND ALSO THE MEN WHO, AFTER THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE, RIDICULED ME FOR MY GLOOMY FOREBODINGS, AND LET THEM FURNISH YOU THE ANSWER WHICH IS DEMANDED BY THIS EMERGENCY OF THEIR OWN CREATION. AND WHEN THOSE FOREBODINGS OF MINE PROVE TRUE, AS I FEAR THEY SOON WILL, VISIT YOUR RESENTMENT ON THEM, NOT ON ME. MAY THE GODS AVERT SUCH CALAMITIES, ALTHOUGH THESE CORRUPT MEN THEREBY ESCAPE THEIR JUST DESERTS.

28. 26. **ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον,** *it were just now, in the first place, to summon,* etc., although you have not done so, nor do I expect you to do it now. The form implies that the thing was not done which it would have been right to do. *μέν* = *in the first place,* is correlative to *πάλιν,* p. 26, l. 6 = *then again.* — 27. **τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας,** Neoptolemus, Aristodemus, and Ctesiphon are named repeatedly in *De Fals. Leg.* — **τὰς ὑποσχέσεις.** Cf. § 23; *De Fals. Leg.*, 41. — **καλεῖν,** sc. in order to furnish the answer demanded by the present state of things and for which they are responsible.

29. P. 26, l. 2. **οὔτ' ἂν...πολεμοῦντες,** *and I know that you would not have ceased to carry on the war,* i. e. you would not have agreed to the peace of Philocrates. The construction of the sentence is just the same as if *οἶδ' ὅτι* were not used; in other words, *οἶδ' ὅτι* is used quite like an adverb = *certainly.* C. 717 b; H. 868; Madv. 193 r. — 6. **καὶ πάλιν...καλεῖν,** *yes and then again* (it were right) (*ἦν δίκαιον,* p. 25, l. 26) *to summon another class.* — **γε** = *yes.* — **πάλιν,** correlative to *μέν,* p. 26, l. 6. — **ἑτέρους,** one of two, and being in the plural, one of two classes. The reference is to Philocrates and Æschines, who were members with Demosthenes of the second embassy specified below, l. 8. — **τοὺς** agrees with *λέγοντας,* l. 10. The skeleton of the sentence is this: *those who when I...was forewarning and protesting...said that I,* etc. — 7. **γεγονυίας...εἰρήνης,** *after the conclusion of the peace.* — **τῆς ὑστέρας...πρεσβείας,** *the second embassy,* viz. *that for the ratification of the peace;* the first being for the negotiation of it, and Demosthenes being a member of both. — **ὕδωρ πίνων** denotes cause, — *being a water-drinker.* See *De Fals. Legat.*, 355, 25, where Demosthenes reports Philocrates as saying sarcastically: no wonder that Demosthenes and I do not think alike, for he drinks water, while I drink wine. It was a standing joke at Athens, that other men *spoke* by water (alluding to the clepsydra, or water-clock, which measured the speaker's time), but Demosthenes *composed* by water. — **εἰκότως,** *of course.* — 12. **εἰμί.** A marked instance of that singular mixture of direct and indirect quotation which the flexibility of the Greek language admits in so many different forms. — **τις** = *a sort of.* — 13. **ἐὰν παρέλθῃ,** *if he should pass* the straits of Thermopylæ, that pass being so important and so familiar as not to require specification. — 14. **μὲν...δέ.** These particles mark the contrast between *Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιάς* and *Θηβαίους*; instead of subjecting those Bœotian cities to Thebes, Æschines assures them that he would *fortify*

Thespiæ and Platææ, on the one hand, and, on the other, put a stop to the insolence of the Thebans. Those cities were as friendly to Athens as they were hostile to the Thebans, who, in 374 B. C., had destroyed the towns and dispersed the inhabitants. The best commentary on this passage is contained in *De Fals. Leg.*, 112: "For this man (Æschines) said that he (Philip) would fortify Thespiæ and Platææ, and so far from destroying the Phocians he would humble the pride of the Thebans; whereas in fact he has made the Thebans more powerful than they should be, and utterly destroyed the Phocians, and he has not fortified Thespiæ and Platææ, but has proceeded still further to enslave Orchomenus and Coronea (other Bœotian cities). — **Χερρόνησον...διορύξει,** *and will at his own expense dig a trench across the Chersonese,* making it an island, and thus protecting it against the Thracians. The distance was only four or five miles. The reader is familiar with the interest of Athens in the Chersonese, which was an ancient Athenian possession. — 16. **Ὠρωπόν.** Oropus, a fortified town near the northern coast of Attica, which had fallen into the hands of the Thebans, B. C. 366, would be highly acceptable to the Athenians, and together with Eubœa it would be an equivalent for Amphipolis, which they so much valued. Cf. Grote, XI. 573. — 18. **οἶδ' ὅτι.** See note above, l. 3. — 19. **δεινοί** This word is used in Greek to express almost anything that is *remarkable.* Kennedy and Heslop here render it *famous.* — 31. 19. **καὶ...αἴσχιστον, κ. τ. λ.,** *and, what is most disgraceful of all, in your confidence, you voted that this same peace should extend also to your posterity.* Smead renders *πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, in regard to their hopes,* sc. of their posterity, and adds this comment, which is very just, whatever be the rendering of these difficult words: "Philip now had possession of many places heretofore belonging to the Athenians, and as it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that each should keep what he had and the same obligations extended to their children, it was virtually cutting off all hope of the future recovery of these places." Cf. Grote, XI. 575. — 22. **οὕτω...ὑπήχθητε,** *so perfectly were you led away.* — 32. 25. **οὐχ ἵν'...Φιλίππου,** *not that by falling into invective I may provoke retaliation upon myself before you, and afford my old adversaries a new pretext for getting something more from Philip.* So Whiston, and substantially Kennedy, Heslop, and others. Schaefer, Westermann, and Rehdantz make *λόγον ποιήσω = λόγου τύχω,* and render: *that I may get an equal hearing before you;* but this does not seem to be justi-

fied by usage. *ποιήσω* seems to be used here in its proper sense of *make*, i. e. *cause*, or *bring upon*, lit. *make for myself*, i. e. *bring upon myself in like manner speech* (abuse) *before you*.

P. 27, l. 2. **ὡς ἄλλως**, lit. quite otherwise, sc. than should be = *to no purpose*. — 33. 4. **καὶ οὐχί, κ. τ. λ.**, *and I could wish indeed that my conjectures may prove false;* literally and in the Greek order: *by no means would I desire to be conjecturing rightly*. — 8. **ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστίν**, *are directed against you*. — **τοῦ δεῖνος**. Cf. *Phil.* I. 46; *Ol.* II. 31. It is gen. of source after *ἀκούηθ*: *hear from me nor from some one else*. — 34. 10. **φοβοῦμαι δή, κ. τ. λ.**, *I fear then that, as your ambassadors have concealed the purposes for which they know in their own consciences that they have been bribed, they who try to repair what these men have lost may chance to fall under your resentment.* — **τοῖς πειρωμένοις**, dat. of the agent with *συμβῇ*. — 14. **ὡς τὰ πολλά**, *generally*. — **ἐνίους**, *some people*, meaning, of course, the Athenians themselves. — 35. 16. **ἕως.. πράγματα**, *while therefore the thing is in the future and in embryo*. Cf. *De Cor.*, 62: *τοῦ φυομένου καὶ συνισταμένου κακοῦ*. — 19. **τίς...προέσθαι**, *who it was that persuaded you to abandon the Phocians and Thermopylæ.* The storm is already gathering which is to burst upon Æschines in the Oration on the Crown. Cf. *De Cor.*, 35. Observe the emphatic separation of *Φωκέας* from *Πύλας*. — 20. **ὧν καταστὰς...κύριος**, *by making himself master of which*, the part. denoting *means*, and *κύριος* being predicate after it. — 25. **λυπήσει μὲν...γέγονε δέ.** The emphasis is on the time: *the distress* (of the war that is sure to invade Attica) *will befall indeed* (in the future) *when it comes, but it has already begun* (in its origin and source) — *it began on that day*, sc. when Æschines deceived you by those false representations.

36. P. 28, l. 1. **οὔτε γὰρ...Φωκέας**, *for he would neither have conquered at sea, surely, and so would never have come to Attica with a fleet, nor would have marched with a land force past Thermopylæ and Phocis.* — **κρατήσας** and **βαδίζων** express two different *ways* or *means* of coming to Attica; in English we overlook the logical relation and simply state the facts; in other words, we use verbs where the Greek uses participles. The use of the people for the country (*Φωκέας* instead of *Φωκίδα*) is frequent in Greek. — 5. **ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὅν**, *on a war like that on account of which*. — 37. 6. **ὡς ὑπομνῆσαι**, *for the purpose of admonition*. *ὡς* denotes the purpose more definitely. C. 671 e; G. 266, N. 1; Madv. 151. — 7. **ὡς...θεοί**, *but*

that it should be exactly verified, avert it, all ye gods. Compare the conclusion of the *First Philippic* and the *First* and *Third Olynthiacs*, all of which end with a prayer, and especially that of the *De Corona*, which ends with a deprecation, in which, somewhat as here, a sharp distinction is drawn between the enemies of the country and the public welfare.

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

INTRODUCTION.

The third Philippic, or, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ad Amm.* 10) reckons it, the tenth Harangue against Philip, was delivered B. C. 341.* There is therefore an interval of only about two years between it and the second Philippic (B. C. 344–343). To this period belong the speeches De Haloneso (B. C. 343), which is now generally ascribed to Hegesippus, although Demosthenes is supposed to have delivered an oration on the same subject which is lost; the Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines *De Falsa Legatione* (343), which however were not spoken, but published as appeals to the people and are chiefly valuable as abounding in facts (or fictions) as the materials of history; and the Oration De Chersoneso (342), which, both in time and occasion, was closely connected with the third Philippic. Meanwhile Philip has taken Halonesus (a small island off the coast of Magnesia belonging to Athens), has made an unsuccessful attempt on Megara (defeated by the Athenians under Phocion), has invaded Epirus and annexed a portion of it to the dominions of his brother-in-law Alexander, but has been obliged to withdraw before an Athenian force sent to Ambracia and a league formed against him by the Athenian ambassadors Demosthenes, Hegesippus, and Lycurgus; has established the tyrants Philistides and Clitarchus in Oreus and Eretria, cities of Eubœa; has driven Cersobleptes from his kingdom, and advanced far in conquest of Thrace; and he is now engaged in a hot dispute with Athens, occasioned by actual conflicts between his troops

* Heslop and Smead say, B. C. 342. But the more and better authorities (Grote, Thirlwall, Curtius, Franke, Whiston, Rehdantz) have it B. C. 341.

sent for the defence of Cardia and the Athenian forces sent under Diopeithes for the protection of the Chersonesus.

The peninsula known as the Thracian Chersonesus, stretching along the coast of the Hellespont (the modern Dardanelles) for a distance of fifty miles, so fertile and so highly cultivated in the heroic age that it is said by Thucydides (I. 11) to have furnished maintenance to the Grecian army during the siege of Troy, colonized in the time of the Pisistratidæ by Athenians under the older and the younger Miltiades (afterwards the conqueror at Marathon), recovered from the dominion of the Persians by Cimon, Miltiades' son, re-enforced by Pericles with a more numerous colony, and protected against the Thracians by fortifications and entrenchments across the isthmus, — this peninsula, thus dear to the hearts of the Athenian people by the ties of kindred and by association with the great men and great events of their early history, was of inestimable value to them materially and politically as commanding the straits on which Athens and the greater part of Greece depended for their main supply of corn, and also as guarding the approach to those Greek cities on the Hellespont (Selymbria, Perinthus, Byzantium, etc.), towards which, together with the Chersonesus, Philip was now looking with covetous eyes and advancing with stealthy but steady footsteps. While Athens sent Diopeithes with a body of mercenaries to protect her settlers and her possessions in this peninsula, Philip had taken under his protection Cardia, a city situated within the peninsula near the isthmus, which was unfriendly to Athens and which not only claimed to be independent, but was admitted by Æschines and the Athenian envoys as an ally of Philip to take part in the ratification of the peace of Philocrates. Under such circumstances, with hostile feelings and conflicting claims, conflict of forces was inevitable. The Macedonian troops on the one hand overran more or less of the Chersonese, and on the other Diopeithes made excursions out of the peninsula, and invaded portions of Thrace which were subject to Philip. Philip sent letters of complaint and remonstrance to Athens. His partisans there loudly demanded the recall and punishment of Diopeithes. A

strong feeling was raised against him, and it seemed for a time as if the Athenians would yield to the demands of Philip, until Demosthenes rose and by one of his most convincing and persuasive speeches, that On the Chersonesus, turned the tide in the opposite direction. In this speech he shows that the real question was not the guilt or innocence of Diopeithes, but whether Athens or Philip should possess the Chersonese and command the Hellespont, and urges the people, instead of recalling and punishing their general, to reinforce him, vote a war-tax, raise an army, and send ambassadors to the other Greeks to awaken them to a sense of the common danger and unite them against the common enemy. This speech produced the desired effect. Diopeithes retained his command, and continued to withstand the advance of Philip. And a few weeks later (so Curtius puts it; Kennedy says, three months; it is impossible to determine the interval between the two orations), moved perhaps by an embassy from the inhabitants of the Chersonesus (§ 73), Demosthenes followed up this speech by his third Philippic, in which he repeats his arguments and appeals, denounces Philip with still greater boldness and vehemence as the irreconcilable enemy of Athens and all Greece, demonstrates beyond dispute the justice of the charge by reviewing the history of his ceaseless encroachments, declares that the question of peace or war is no longer at their disposal, but the war is already begun, hurls his thunderbolts at the traitors and hirelings who have too long blinded the eyes of the people to his ambitious designs, and are ready to sell to him the liberties of their country, and summons them, in the role and spirit of their illustrious ancestors, to organize and lead Greeks, yes and barbarians, in a common, open, and determined resistance against the common enemy of liberty and of mankind. It is one of the clearest and strongest arguments and at the same time one of the most earnest and impassioned appeals among all the speeches of the great Athenian orator. Nor was it spoken in vain. Convinced and persuaded by it and animated with the spirit of its author, the Athenians now acted with a vigor worthy of their sires, expelled the tyrants whom Philip had established

in the cities of Eubœa, sent a fleet to relieve Byzantium and the other cities on the Hellespont, and, for the time, completely baffled the plans of the Macedonian king. It was now, for the first time, that Demosthenes succeeded in inducing the people to restore the theoric fund to its original military use. Moreover, by his trierarchic law he distributed more equitably the military and naval taxes (*De Cor.* 104–106), and thus imparted new energy and efficiency to the naval power of the state. At the same time he went as envoy to Eubœa, to the Chersonese and to Byzantium, as he had before been to the Peloponnesus, to Ambracia, to Corcyra, Illyria, and Thessaly, everywhere reconciling Grecian cities and states among themselves and uniting them against Philip (*De Cor.* 87–89). In short, Demosthenes was the moving spirit of all the energetic measures of this interesting period in Athenian history. And his influence with his countrymen continued to be in the ascendency until, two or three years later (B. C. 338), he roused and rallied Athenians and Thebans to the final glorious though unsuccessful struggle in the fatal battle at Chæronea.

This was the last, the longest, and the greatest of all the orations of Demosthenes that were specially directed against Philip. Dionysius calls it the greatest of the Philippics (*ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου κατηγοριῶν*, *De Thucyd.* VI. 947). Curtius (V. 394) speaks of it as the most powerful and the most successful of all the popular orations of Demosthenes. And ancient and modern critics have generally agreed in this opinion.

Two editions of this oration have come down to us. One of these is contained in the Paris Codex Σ,* wherein many sentences are omitted, which, however, are added in the margin by a later hand. The fuller edition is preserved in the other MSS., except one or two which want the additions or have them in the margin. In the abbreviated form of Σ the oration is for the most part intelligible and complete. At the same time the additions in the other MSS. are generally congruous and written in the style and spirit of Demosthenes. Various conjectures

* Cited as S by some editors. This MS. is usually remarkable for its brevity; and the difference is especially marked in the third Philippic.

have been made in explanation, one of which is, that the oration was delivered in the shorter form, and the orator himself afterwards revised it and made the additions, in other words, we have the rare and interesting phenomenon of an oration of Demosthenes in an earlier and a later edition. When or how the variations arose, we have not the means to determine. Readers wanting further information on the subject must consult the commentators, e. g. Bekker, Smead, Whiston, etc.

Analysis.

A. The exordium, or rather the key-note of the oration, namely, the increasingly wretched state of Athenian affairs, and its cause, namely, the desire of the people to be flattered, and their unwillingness to hear the truth (§§ 1 – 5).

B. Preliminary question : Is Philip at peace or at war with Athens? The latter proved by a review of his acts (6 – 20).

C. The main question, not the safety of Chersonesus or Byzantium, but the rights and liberties of all Greece (21 – 35).

D. The root of the mischief or danger is in the degeneracy and corruption of morals throughout Greece (36 – 46).

E. The complete revolution in the mode of carrying on war, introduced by Philip, necessitates corresponding changes on our part (47 – 52).

F. The necessity of punishing the agents and hirelings of Philip illustrated by numerous examples (53 – 62).

G. The lesson of wisdom and duty to Athens, and the necessity of immediate, united, vigorous action (63 – 76).

NOTES.

A. The exordium, or rather the key-note of the oration, viz. the increasingly wretched state of Athenian affairs, and its cause, viz. the desire of the people to be flattered, and their unwillingness to hear the truth (1–5).

§§ 1–5. After all the speeches that we have heard about chastising Philip, affairs could hardly have been worse if speakers and hearers had conspired together to ruin the state. You have to blame for this your orators, who speak only to please you, and yourselves, who wish to be flattered, and are not willing to hear the truth. Give to me the freedom of speech in public affairs which in other matters you extend to foreigners and even slaves, and it is not yet too late to repair these evils.

1. Page 29, line 1. The exordium of the third Philippic bears a general resemblance to that of the second, but it is more earnest, more direct and outspoken, and more severe both on other orators and on the people. 2. **ὀλίγου δεῖν** = *almost.* C. 665; G. 172, N. 2; H. 575; *Lex.* s. v. Render: *in almost every assembly.* — **περὶ ὧν** = *περὶ τούτων ἅ.* *ὧν* is gen. by attraction; otherwise it would be in the acc. with *ὑμᾶς* after *ἀδικεῖ.* — 3. **τὴν εἰρήνην,** *the peace* of Philocrates (B. C. 346), which was so notorious that specification was needless. — 4. **οἶδ' ὅτι** = *surely,* or *I am sure.* See note, *Phil.* II. 29. — **ὑπηγμένα.** Compare *προηγμένα* in a similar connection, *Phil.* II. 2. But *ὑπηγμένα* properly signifies, *led away under evil influences.* Cf. *Phil.* II. 31: *ὑπήχθητε.* — **ὑπηγμένα καὶ προειμένα** may be rendered, *brought by neglect and corrupt influences,* not mere inadvertence, as the commentators generally have it. See *Lex.* s. v. — **εἰς τοῦθ'**...**ὁρῶ** introduces the conclusion of the long condition or concession which

is expressed by the circumstantial participles *γιγνομένων*, l. 1, and *φησάντων*, l. 5: *although* (or *while*) *many speeches are being made... and although all would say...yet I see all your affairs brought...into such a state that,* etc. — 9. **εἰ καὶ λέγειν.** This explains, or rather is the thing which *he fears may be slanderous yet true,* and hence, like an object or an appositive, it has no connective. — 12. **οὐκ ἂν... διατεθῆναι,** *I do not think they could have been in a worse situation than they now are.* — 2. 14. **παρά** = *from.* Cf. note, *Phil.* I. 11; *διά*, l. 16 = *through.* — 15. **εὑρήσετε...προαιρουμένους,** *you will find* (that things have come into this state) *through the influence of those who prefer to please you* (court your favor) *rather than to give you the best advice.* — 17. **τινὲς μέν,** e. g. Eubulus and the party in power; *ἕτεροι*, the opposition. — 18. **ἐν οἷς...φυλάττοντες,** *seeking to maintain a state of things in which they themselves enjoy reputation and possess power.* — 20. **τοὺς ἐπὶ...ὄντας,** *those who preside over public affairs;* the same with *τινές* above. — 21. **οὐδὲν...ὅπως βούλεται,** *labor only to make the state punish its own citizens* (lit. itself take satisfaction of itself) *and be wholly engrossed with this, while* (= *and so*) *Philip shall be at liberty to say and do whatever he pleases.*

3. P. 30, l. 3. **πολιτεῖαι** = *πολιτεύματα*, *politics of this kind are common among you* (lit. customary to you). — 7. **ὡδί,** *thus,* sc. as follows, explained in the next sentence, which therefore has no connective. — **ὑμεῖς,** emphatic and distinctive: *you* the people of Athens. So also *παρ' ὑμῖν*, l. 10. — **ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων,** *on all other subjects* except public affairs; opposed to *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν*, l. 12: *but from the counsels of state you have utterly banished it.* Cf. *Ol.*, III. 32. — **δούλοις** = *slaves, servants* in general. — **οἰκέτας** = *domestics, house-servants.* — 4. 13. **εἶθ' ὑμῖν, κ. τ. λ.,** *so then you* (still emphatic) *have experienced the consequences of this,* viz. *that in your popular assemblies you give yourselves airs* (lit. luxuriate) *and are flattered at hearing nothing but what is pleasant* (everything to please you) *while in your affairs and circumstances you are already in the extremest peril.* This passage is repeated almost verbatim from *De Chers.*, 34. — 19. **ἕτοιμος.** The subject and the copula are to be supplied from *οὐχ ἔχω τι λέγω* in the antithesis, the two clauses being closely linked together by *μέν* and *δέ*. — 5. 24. **τὸ χείριστον...βελτίω.** This passage also (as far as p. 31, l. 2) is repeated from *Phil.* I. 2, where see notes. The great Attic orator is as little afraid to repeat himself in different orations as the great epic poet was to repeat the same lines in successive books.

P. 31, l. 3. **νῦν δέ, κ. τ. λ.**, *but now it is your sloth and indifference which Philip has conquered, but the state he has not conquered; you have not been worsted, nay, you have not even moved,* not even entered the field. Others render *κεκίνησθε*, *bestirred yourselves*, and others still make it passive, and render: *you have not even been moved* from your place.

B. Preliminary question: Is Philip at peace or at war with Athens? The latter proved by a review of his acts (6–20).

6–20. SOME OF YOUR ORATORS TELL YOU THAT SOME OF US ARE CAUSING WAR. IF IT IS IN OUR POWER TO MAINTAIN PEACE, I SAY, MAINTAIN IT. BUT IS THAT PEACE WHICH IS ALL ON OUR SIDE, WHILE HE CARRIES ON WAR AGAINST US? IS PEACE TO BE JUDGED OF BY WORDS AND NOT BY DEEDS? HE WOULD NEVER *DECLARE* WAR AGAINST US THOUGH HE WERE MARCHING TO THE PIRÆUS, ANY MORE THAN HE DECLARED WAR AGAINST OLYNTHUS AND PHOCIS TILL HE HAD DESTROYED THEM. EVER SINCE THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE HE HAS BEEN MAKING WAR UPON YOU BY HIS INVASION OF THE CHERSONESE, BY HIS ATTEMPT ON MEGARA, BY ESTABLISHING DESPOTIC GOVERNMENTS IN EUBŒA, BY HIS PRESENT ADVANCE INTO THRACE, BY HIS INTRIGUES IN THE PELOPONNESUS, AND BY THE WHOLE COURSE OF HIS OPERATIONS WITH HIS ARMIES.

6. This section and the following are omitted in the text of Σ, but inserted in the margin. — 10. **ἔνιοι.** Cf. *Phil.* II. 34, and note there. — **ὥστε...καταλαμβάνοντος...ἀνέχεσθαι**, *that at the very time when he is capturing cities...they allow certain persons to say...that it is some of us who are causing the war.* — 15. **διορθοῦσθαι**, *to set ourselves right in regard to this.* — 7. 16. **ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα** is the object of *γράψας καὶ συμβουλεύσας*, *for there is reason to fear that some time any one who has moved and advised a method of defence* (lit. how we shall defend ourselves) *may fall under the charge of having caused the war.* The Greek prefers such concrete forms of expression. — 19. **διορίζομαι**, define, *determine*, the original meaning of the Greek, as of these English words, being to *mark off a boundary.*—**ἐφ' ἡμῖν**, *depends on us.* — **περὶ τοῦ πότερον**, *on the question whether.* —8. 23. **καὶ τὸν...ἀξιῶ**, *and I demand that he who says so should make a motion and take action* accordingly *and not prevaricate* (cheat the people). — 27. **προβάλλει**, *puts forward*, holds up before you. Σ reads *προβάλλει*; other MSS. *προβάλλεται*, which is used in the same sense, *Thuc.*, 1. 37. — 27. **τοῖς δ' ἔργοις, κ. τ. λ.**, *while the measures which he him-*

self adopts are those of war. Thus may we preserve the emphasis of the original.

P. 32, l. 3. **οὐ διαφέρομαι,** *I do not quarrel with that.* The word is used in an emphatic sense to correspond with the emphasis on *φάσκειν*: *I have no objection* to your *professing* to be at peace. — 5. **ἔπειτα...λέγει,** *in the next place he means peace towards him by you and not towards you by him.* — **χρημάτων,** gen. of price: *this is what he purchases with all the money he is lavishing.* — **10.** 10. **εἰ περιμενοῦμεν,** *if we mean to wait.* Heslop. — 13. **οἷς,** *by what he has done,* dat. by attraction, its antecedent being dat. of means with *τεκμαίρεσθαι.* — **11.** 14. **τοῦτο μέν,** *to take one instance; τοῦτο δέ,* l. 20, *to take another.* Whiston. This form of the acc. of specification is in apposition with the following sentence. — 17. **πάντα τὸν ἄλλον, κ. τ. λ.,** *although always before if one* (whenever any one) *charged him with anything of the sort he used to complain of it.* — 20. **εἰς Φωκέας,** strictly speaking, designates the name of the country, whereas *ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους* is a personal reference; from which mode of speaking arose the use of *ὡς* alone with names of *persons* in nearly the same sense as *εἰς* with names of things. Donaldson's Grammar quoted by Whiston. C. 711 e; Cu. 450; G. 191, 3; H. 621. Cf. *Phil.* II. 36. — 22. **ἤριζον,** *were all the while contending,* relative imperf. — 23. **πάροδον,** *his passage* through the straits of Thermopylæ. — **12.** 25. **ἔχει καταλαβών,** *he has seized and still holds.* This combination illustrates the origin of the use of *have* as an auxiliary in the modern languages. — 26. **Ὠρείταις.** See below, § 59 seq., where he tells the story. It is dat. after *ἔφη* as well as after *ἐπισκεψομένους, he said to the miserable inhabitants of Oreus* (a city in Eubœa) *that in good-will he had sent soldiers to visit them,* sc. as physicians and friends visit the sick.

P. 33, l. 1. **πυνθάνεσθαι γάρ,** *for he heard in regard to them that they were sick and afflicted with dissensions.* — **αὐτούς** would regularly be the subject of *νοσοῦσι*, but for emphasis is made the object with *πυνθάνεσθαι.* — **νοσοῦσι** is generic, and is explained by the specific *στασιάζουσι.* Cf. *De Cor.*, 45: *αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν.* — 2. **συμμάχων δ' εἶναι,** *and it was the part of allies,* pred. gen. of characteristic. — **13.** 4. **εἶτ' οἴεσθ', κ. τ. λ.,** *so then you think, do you* (*εἶτ'* is indignant and exclamatory), *that he chose to deceive rather than forewarn and overcome by force those people* (named above) *who would have done him no harm* (if he *had* declared war), *though they might*

perhaps have taken measures not to suffer harm, and yet that he will declare war before beginning it (lit. carry on war after previous proclamation) *against* YOU, *and that too while you were so willing to be deceived* (would have been so willingly deceived)! *Impossible!*—**14.** 10. **ὑμῶν …ἐκεῖνος,** *if while* YOU, *the injured party, were finding no fault with him, but were laying the blame on some of your own number,* HE *should put an end to your strife and contention with one another, and forewarn you to turn it against himself.* — 14. **ἀναβάλλουσιν,** *are putting you off.* — 15. **ἐκεῖνος** is made still more emphatic and distinctive here by γε : HE *at any rate.* — **15.** 16. **εὖ φρονῶν,** *of sound mind.* — 17. **τὸν ἄγοντ'…σκέψαιτ' ἄν,** *would judge of the man who was at peace,* etc., i. e. *judge who was at peace and who was at war with him.* — **τοίνυν,** *well then, Philip from the beginning, when the peace had just been made, when Diopeithes was not yet in command and the settlers who are now in the Chersonese had not even been sent out.* Thus he disposes effectually of the charge that Diopeithes was the author of the war and of the demand that he should be recalled and punished. — 22. **κατελάμβανε,** *was seizing* one place after another continually. Serrium and Doriscus, Athenian fortresses in Thrace, are so often mentioned by Demosthenes that Æschines sneeringly represents him as the first discoverer of these places. Æs. *con. Ctes.*, 82 ; cf. Dem., *De Cor.*, 27. — 23. **Ἱεροῦ ὄρους.** The Sacred Mount was a fortified place on the northern coast of the Hellespont. — 24. **ὑμέτερος στρατηγός,** Chares. — 25. **τί ἐποίει,** *what was he doing,* what else, forsooth, but carrying on war against us? — **εἰρήνην ὀμωμόκει.** This is not literally true. The peace had been negotiated, but not ratified. But the argument is the same so far as it concerns the duplicity and hostility of Philip, who purposely delayed the ratification in order to gain time for further conquests. — **16.** 27. **τί… πόλει.** This is the usual construction with μέλει, viz. the dat. of the person caring, the gen. of the thing cared for, and sometimes an adv. acc. of the degree of care. But sometimes it is used personally, the thing cared for being the subject, as ταῦτα in the next clause. See Madv. 58, N. 1 : μέλει μοι ταῦτα ; Ἑορταὶ καὶ χοροὶ πᾶσιν μέλουσιν. Plat. *Leg.*, 8, 835.

P. 34, l. 1. **ἄλλος…οὗτος,** *for whether these things concern you little or whether you care nothing about them, that is another question,* lit. *would be* another question, sc. from that which is before us = this is not the question. Cf. *De Cor.*, 44 ; Plat., *Apol.*, 34, E. — 2. **τὸ δ'**

εὐσεβές, κ. τ. λ., *but whether one violates piety and justice in a small matter or in one of greater importance, it has the same force,* that is, he is a wrong-doer, and he has violated the same sacred principle. Cf. James ii. 10. Here as everywhere else we see the high-toned ethics of Demosthenes. — 4. **φέρε δή.** See note, *Phil.* I. 10. — 5. **βασιλεύς.** The king of Persia. — 6. **ὑμετέραν.** See Introd., p. 113. — 7. **καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα,** *and writes this in his letters to us.* Introd., p. 113. — **τί ποιεῖ.** This rhetorical repetition (cf. *τί ἐποίει*, p. 33, l. 25) has great beauty and force, like a refrain in music. — **17.** 8. **φησὶ μέν,** emphatic, — *he* SAYS, *to be sure.* Franke and Rehdantz read *φῄς*, *you say*, after Σ. But that would require the addition of *ἐκεῖνον*. — **τοσούτῳ,** lit. *by so much ;* dat. denoting the degree of difference. C. 468 ; Cu. 440 ; G. 188, 2 ; H. 610. Al. *τοσούτου*, gen. after *δέω*, which is the more common construction and the easier reading, but for that reason to be rejected. With either reading the meaning is : *I am so far from admitting that in so doing he is keeping the peace with you.* — 10. **Μεγάρων ἁπτόμενον,** *by his attack* (or *attempt*) *on Megara.* The series of participles of which this is the first denote the manner in which he has been breaking the peace, *λύειν τὴν εἰρήνην*. The attempt on Megara (B. C. 343) was defeated by a body of Athenian hoplites sent from Athens under Phocion. See a brief sketch of these several operations of Philip, Introd., p. 112 ; Grote, XI. 622. — 11. **ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ,** sc. Philistides in Oreus (B. C. 342) and Clitarchus in Eretria (343). Cf. *De Cor.*, 71, and below, § 57. — **νῦν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην,** *and by his present advance into Thrace.* At the time of this oration (341) he was still carrying on those operations in Thrace, which ended in its complete subjugation. — 12. **καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ,** *by his intrigues in the Peloponnesus,* sc. with the Argives and Messenians. Cf. *Phil.* II. 15 seqq. ; Grote, XI. 611. — 13. **πράττει** expresses the *operations* he is carrying on, while *ποιοῦντα* has reference rather to the effects and results. Cf. note, *Ol.* III. 15. — 14. **φημί.** The ind. after *ὥστε*, l. 10, makes the *affirmation* more positive. — 15. **καί,** *even.* — **ἐφιστάντας.** Observe the force of *ἐφ-* : *setting up their engines against.* — 17. **προσάγωσιν,** *until they are actually bringing them to the walls.* Al. *προσαγάγωσιν* = *have actually brought.* — 19. **κἂν...τοξεύῃ,** *though he be not yet throwing a dart nor shooting an arrow.* In illustration of the rapidity and vividness of this passage Whiston quotes as applicable to it the language of Cicero, *De Orat.*, I. 161 : Tantus cursus verborum fuit, et sic evolavit

oratio, ut ejus vim atque incitationem adspexerim, vestigia ingressumque vix viderim. — 18. 20. **τίσιν…γένοιτο,** *to what dangers then would you be exposed if anything should happen,* i. e. if war should come and you should be unfortunate. Euphemistic. See *Phil.* I. 12: εἴ τι πάθοι. — 21. **τῷ…φρονῆσαι,** *to the alienation of the Hellespont, to your enemy's becoming master of Megara and Eubœa, to the Peloponnesians' taking his side.* Observe the vivacity of the *interrogation* and the *asyndeton.* — 24. **εἶτα.** Compare εἶτα, § 13, above. — 19. 27. **ὁρίζομαι,** *from that day I date* (lit. *bound*) *his commencement of hostilities.*

P. 35, l. 2. **ὅταν βούλησθε** is opposed to ἤδη: neglect to defend yourselves *at once,* and you will not be able to do it *when you wish to.* — 3. **τοσοῦτον,** acc. denoting the measure of difference, instead of the dative. — **καὶ…γε** may here be rendered, *yes, and.* Cf. *Phil.* II. 29: *yes, and so much do I dissent from your other advisers that I do not even think we ought* (δοκεῖ = it seems *good*) *to be inquiring about the Chersonesus now nor Byzantium, but while* (μέν) *you should lend aid to them and see to it that no harm befalls them, you ought to be consulting for all the Greeks.* We have here an example of the comprehensive and far-seeing statesmanship of Demosthenes. — 9. **ἐξ ὧν** = *why,* the reasons by which I am led, lit. *out of* which, in consequence of which. — 12. **εἰ μὴ…ἄρα,** *if forsooth* (*if then*) *you will not for others.* ἄρα, like εἶτα, points to the inconsistency and absurdity of the thing, and so is ironical. — 13. **τετυφῶσθαι,** *and am besotted.* The old grammarians explain τετυφῶσθαι by ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι, and derive it from Typho, Τυφῶν, the *thunder-struck* giant. But, as Whiston says, a more natural derivation is from τῦφος, a smoke, mist, or cloud, the accompaniments of storms and volcanic eruptions.

C. The main question, not the safety of the Chersonesus or Byzantium, but the rights and liberties of all Greece (21–35).

21–35. You have conceded to Philip the right never granted to Athens, Sparta, Thebes, or any Grecian state, much less to be granted to a barbarian, of doing what he pleases. Review the history of his aggressions and wrongs, and you will find that in thirteen years and less they exceed all which all the dominant Grecian powers have done to the smaller states in a century. There are no bounds either to his ambition or to his insolence.

21. 16. **καὶ ἀπίστως…Ἕλληνες,** *and that the Greeks are jealous*

and quarrelling among themselves. — 18. **ἐξ ἐκείνου**, *from what he was.* ἐξ denotes origin. Cf. ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ, l. 15. — **ἢ νῦν... ποιήσασθαι**, *than that now, when he has already taken so many places, he should subject the rest to his power.* — 22. 21. **ἀλλ'** is opposed to the ὅτι μὲν...παραλείψω of the preceding section, and introduces the point on which he wishes to dwell. — 22. **ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους**, a rhetorical exaggeration, like *all the world.* — **ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους**, *beginning with you* = and you among the first. — 23. **ὑπὲρ οὗ**, *in regard to which*, i. e. which has been the cause or subject-matter of all the wars, etc. — **τὸν ἄλλον...χρόνον**, *always before.* Cf. § 11 = *in all past time.* — 25. **τὸ ποιεῖν, κ. τ. λ.**, *the privilege of doing just what he pleases, and fleecing and pillaging the Greeks one by one in the manner he is doing* (οὑτωσί). Those expressive words, περικόπτειν and λωποδυτεῖν, are sufficiently explained in the Lexicon. — 27. **καταδουλοῦσθαι...ἐπιόντα**, lit. to enslave their cities attacking them. ἐπιόντα denoting the manner or means. Render, *and attacking and enslaving their cities.*

23. P. 36, l. 1. **προστάται** denotes the *leading power* in Grecian affairs, — the *hegemony*, as recent historians call it. In *Ol.* III. 24, the Athenian hegemony is said to have lasted forty-five years; but there, he says, they ruled with the consent of the Greeks: τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑκόντων. Here he wishes to include the period of unwilling subjection in order to aggravate by comparison the wrongs done by Philip (§ 25), and so he adds the twenty-nine years of the Peloponnesian War. See note, *Ol.* III. 24. — **ἑβδομήκοντα...τρία**, sc. from the close of the Persian War, B. C. 477, to the close of the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 405. — 2. **τριάκοντα...δέοντα**, *thirty wanting one*, sc. from the end of the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 405, to their defeat at Naxos by Chabrias, B. C. 376. — 3. **ἴσχυσαν τι**, *attained to some considerable power.* Such is the force of the aorist. So ἄρξασι, l. 13 below = *when they had attained to the hegemony.* The battle of Leuctra, won by the Thebans under Epaminondas, was B. C. 371. — **οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ**, *no, not by any means.* — 24. 9. **τοῦτο μέν.** Cf. note, § 11. — **ὑμῖν** depends on πολεμεῖν, l. 12. The skeleton of the sentence is as follows: *with you, for example, in the first place...all thought it their duty to go to war, and again with the Lacedæmonians.. all went to war,* etc. — 10. **οὐ μετρίως**, *without due moderation;* rendered *harshly* by the commentators generally. It is an example of *litotes.* — 11. **καὶ...αὐτοῖς**, *even those who had no fault to find with them.* —

14. **ὑμῖν**, dat. after *τὴν αὐτήν*. C. 451; Cu. 436 b; G. 186; H. 603. The participles *ἄρξασι* and *παρελθοῦσιν* denote the time: *when they had attained to the hegemony and had come into possession of the same power with you*, i. e. which you previously possessed. — **ἐπειδή** denotes the cause: *because they endeavored to aggrandize themselves and began to disturb beyond measure the established order of things*, i. e. to overthrow republican institutions and establish oligarchies, as was their custom. — **25.** 17. **καὶ τί τοὺς ἄλλους.** What need of mentioning others when the more familiar example of Athens and Sparta is quite sufficient? — 19. **ἂν** makes the clause conditional or concessive = *ἂν εἴχομεν*, *though at the beginning* (of the war) *we could specify nothing whatever wherein we had been injured by one another.* — 20. **ὑπὲρ ὧν.** Cf. *ὑπὲρ οὗ*, p. 35, l. 24. — 21. **καίτοι πάνθ', κ. τ. λ.**, *and yet all the faults that have been committed both by the Lacedæmonians...and by our ancestors...are less than the wrongs which Philip has done the Greeks.* Observe the art with which the orator speaks of the *faults* of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians and the *wrongs* of Philip. — **Λακεδαιμονίοις** is dat. of the agent, which is particularly common after the perfect passive. The years, it will be seen, are here put in round numbers. — 25. **οὐχ ὅλοις** = *and those not entire.* As this speech was delivered in the summer of B. C. 341,* the thirteen incomplete years, reckoning inclusively, will carry us back to the taking of Methone (B. C. 353), referred to in the next section. Heslop. — 26. **ἐπιπολάζει**, lit. is on the surface, or at the top, — *is uppermost.* Smead, with the approval of Kennedy, regards the expression as contemptuous; but Isocrates (8. 107), cited by Heslop, uses the word of the *Athenians* without any such implication.

26. P. 37, l. 1. The two-and-thirty cities here referred to are those of the Chalcidic peninsula, which the Greeks often spoke of as a part of Thrace. As to their treatment by Philip, see Introduction to Olynthiacs. Apollonia, one of the most important of these cities, was a little north of Olynthus and in alliance with it. — 4. **προσελθόντ'** agrees with the subject of *εἰπεῖν* = *one who visits the spot.* — 5. **τοσοῦτον ἀνῃρημένον**, *so great a nation exterminated.* — 5. **ἀλλά.** Cf. note, § 22. — **τὰς πολιτείας**, *their constitutions.* — **τὰς πόλεις** is added with emphasis = *yes, and their cities.* — 7. **τετραρχίας.** For the reconciliation of this with *δεκαδαρχίαν*, *Phil.* II. 22, see note there. 8. **κατ' ἔθνη** refers to the four *provinces*, originally four *tribes*, which

* So Heslop, p. 63; though, on p. 51, he says, this speech belongs to 342 B. C.

constituted the tetrarchies. — **κατὰ πόλεις** perhaps, though not necessarily, implies a decemvirate (*δεκαδαρχία*) in *each city*. — **δουλεύωσιν,** subj., instead of opt., to describe the present condition; that they might be, as they now are, subject, etc. — 27. 11. **εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς.** This is the reading of Σ, and is entitled to the preference as the more difficult reading. Al. *ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. εἰς*, of course, implies motion towards, *put into* his letters. — 13. **καὶ οὐ γράφει μέν,** *and he does not write thus and not* DO *it.* See the famous passage in *De Cor.* 179, in which *οὐ μὲν...οὐ δέ* thus alternate through several successive clauses. — 14. **ἀλλ', κ. τ. λ.,** *nay, he is gone to the Hellespont, he had previously come to Ambracia,* etc. The orator pictures the rapidity of Philip's marches and conquests in his rapid and unconnected clauses, so that we can see it. See a similar description in the prophecy of Jeremiah xlviii. 1 seqq. — 17. **ἡ βάρβαρος,** sc. *γῆ*, which, as Whiston observes, is also properly understood with *ἡ Ἑλλάς*: *neither the Greek nor the barbarian world contains the ambition of the man.* With this use of *χωρεῖ* compare John xxi. 25, where the hyperbole is still stronger. — 28. 21. **διορωρύγμεθα,** *intrenched in separate cities.* Ad rem. cf. *De Cor.* 61. — 23. **οὐδέ** is more emphatic than *οὔτε* = *no, nor to unite, nor to form any alliance for succor and friendship.* — 29. 26. **τὸν χρόνον...ἐγνωκώς,** *each resolved to make the most of* (to count as gain) *the time in which another is being destroyed.*

P. 38, l. 1. **οὐχ ὅπως,** *not seeking nor striving for the salvation of the Greeks.* — 2. **ἐπεὶ...ἀγνοεῖ,** *for that like a course of fever or an attack of some other disease he is coming even to him who now thinks himself to be far removed, none assuredly* (*γε*, l. 2) *can be ignorant.* — 7. **ἀλλ' οὖν,** *at any rate, they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece.* — 8. **καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον,** *and one might have taken this in the same way* (looked at it in the same light) *as he would if a legitimate son, born heir to a large estate, should manage it badly or improperly,* viz. he would say *that in this particular he was deserving of blame and censure, but it would be impossible to say that he had no title and was not heir to the property he was thus managing.* — 31. 14. **ὑποβολιμαῖος,** *a supposititious child,* the opposite of *γνήσιος* above. — 16. **ἀλλ' οὐχ,** *but not so in regard to Philip and his conduct now, not so do they feel in regard to Philip, who is not only not a Greek and no connection of the Greeks, but not even a barbarian from a place which it is honorable to mention.* The repetition of negatives makes the denial very emphatic. — **ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος,** *a pestilent fellow of Macedon, a coun-*

try from which, etc. So he calls Æschines *ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς*, *De Cor.*, 127. The orator's indignation, righteous as it is, in both cases carries him beyond the bounds of truth and justice. Philip was generally conceded to have had Greek blood in his veins, and that of the family of Hercules. He gives an ingenious but hardly a fair or honest turn to the fact that Macedonians were not found as slaves in Greece. Rehdantz sees in *πρότερον* a suggestion of the shameful contrast now when the people who formerly were deemed unfit for slaves had become their masters! — 32. 24. **πόλεις.** The reference is particularly to the cities of Phocis which he had recently destroyed. — **τίθησι** is the technical word generally used of the person or people that *holds*, i. e. fixes, appoints, *presides over* the games. "Two months after the surrender of the Phocians, Philip was nominated by the Amphictyonic Council President of the Pythian games in conjunction with the Thebans and Thessalians (B. C. 346). The Athenians refused to send Theori on the occasion (*De Fals. Leg.* 128; Grote, XI. 602)." Heslop. — 25. **τῶν Ἑλλήνων** is to be taken in connection with what has just been said of Philip as no Greek: that he who was not a Greek should preside over *the national festival of the* GREEKS, *and even, if not present in person, send his* SLAVES (that is, his agents, *slaves* in the eyes of Demosthenes and the Greeks) *to hold the games!* — this was intolerable insolence. — 26. **κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν, κ. τ. λ.** The passage in brackets is omitted in Σ. The force of the *οὐ* at the beginning of the section extends over all the clauses to *καταστήσοντας*, p. 39, l. 9, linking them all together in one question and thus making the enumeration of particulars more rapid and vivid: *does he not hold the Pythian games?...and control Thermopylæ and the passes into Greece* (the people put for the country)?...*and possess the privilege of consulting the oracle first, to which not even all* GREEKS *have a claim, having thrust aside us* (the Athenians)? etc. This privilege of *pre-audience of the god*, on those days on which alone answers were given, had belonged to the Phocians, and was now, by vote of the Amphictyons, transferred to Philip. The Delphians used to confer it on particular states or sovereigns as a reward for some special service. Thus the Spartans received it; also Crœsus, king of Lydia, for his magnificent presents and offerings.

33. P. 39, l. 5. **γράφει δέ,** *and write to the Thessalians how they ought to conduct their public affairs?* The force of *οὐ* still continues. — 7. **Πορθμόν.** Porthmus was the port of Eretria. — **τὸν δῆμον,**

to expel the democracy of the Eretrians. It was the partisans of the democratic form of government that were expelled; but these are artfully and yet naturally in view of the habitual use of the word at Athens called *the demus, the people.* See § 17 above, and below § 57; Grote, XI. 621. — 9. **ἀλλ'...ἀνέχονται,** *and yet the Greeks, although they see these things, endure it.* — 10. **καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον,** *and they seem to me to look on just as they would at a hail-storm.* — 12. **καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι** = ad se quisque, *praying that it may not come upon themselves severally.* See *De Cor.*, 45, where a similar idea is expressed in similar words: *οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν*, and Sall. *Frag. His.*, I., which is manifestly an imitation, almost a translation of this passage: Qui videmini intenta mala, quasi fulmen, optare se quisque ne attingant, sed prohibere ne conari quidem. — **34.** 13. **οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς,** *and not only does no one punish him for the outrages which all Greece is receiving at his hands, but none for the wrongs which each state is itself suffering.* — 16. **οὐ Κορινθίων ...οὐχ 'Αχαιῶν.** Here follow the specifications under the general charge, in which the reader will observe the emphatic position of the several states wronged and the rapid succession of questions in which the wrongs are enumerated. These words are gen. of the possessor: *of the Corinthians has he not gone against Ambracia and Leucas;* but the spirit of the passage is well expressed by Kennedy and Heslop: has he not wronged the Corinthians by attacking Ambracia and Leucas? etc. These were Corinthian colonies on the northwest coast of Greece. See note, § 27. Naupactus is the modern Lepanto, so famous for the battle which checked the further advance of the Turks in the conquest of Europe. Echinus was a colony of Thebes on the northern coast of the Malian gulf in Thessaly. In reference to Cardia and the whole series of Philip's aggressions, see Introd., p. 112, seq. — 25. **τί οἴεσθε...τί ποιήσειν,** *and yet he who is using all so wantonly, what do you think when he has become master of each of us one by one, what* think you *he will do?* The second *τί* is omitted in some MSS. and editions, but rests on good authority, and adds force to the interrogation.

D. The root of the mischief and danger is in the degeneracy and corruption of morals throughout Greece (**36–46**).

36–46. WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF ALL THIS? THE GREEKS OF FORMER TIMES DETESTED TRAITORS AND HIRELINGS, AND PUNISHED THEM. YOU ENVY THEM, AND PUNISH THOSE WHO DENOUNCE THEM.

The latter you see with your own eyes. In proof of the former, remember the infamy of the man who was outlawed by your sires for bringing Median gold into the Peloponnesus. Hence, as a natural result, Greece was then formidable to the barbarian, not the barbarian to the Greeks.

36. P. 40, l. 4. **ἦν τι τότ', ἦν.** Observe the favorite repetition, which we have so often seen in other orations, and emphasized by the ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι by which it is followed: *there was a something then, there* WAS, *gentlemen of Athens, in the sentiments of the masses.* — 6. **ἦγε,** *kept Greece free.* — 7. **ἡττᾶτο** governs the same case of the same class of words as ἥττων, from which it is derived: *was overcome by* (lit. was less powerful than) *no battle on the sea or on the land.* It is the antithesis of ἐκράτησε: it conquered everything and could itself be conquered by nothing. — 8. **νῦν δ' ἀπολωλός,** *but the loss of which now has ruined and turned upside down all the affairs of the Greeks.* — **37.** 12. **χαλεπώτατον,** *it was a most grievous thing to be convicted of receiving a bribe.* Observe the use of the imperfect in each of these clauses to express customary action. — **38.** 14. **τὸν οὖν καιρόν, κ. τ. λ.,** *hence the favorable moment for each several movement* (civil or military) *which fortune often provides could not be purchased,* etc. — **πρίασθαι** has for its object not only καιρόν, but ὁμόνοιαν, ἀπιστίαν, and τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. — 18. **ὅλως** = *in fine.* — **39.** 20. **ταῦτα** and **τούτων,** of course, refer to the harmonious co-operation of the Greeks and their distrust of despots and barbarians mentioned above: *now these things have all been sold out till the market is as it were exhausted, and in exchange for these there have been imported things by which Greece has been ruined and made sick.* The figure of barter and sale is carried relentlessly through, and *Greece* ruined and sick unto death — Greece (observe the emphatic position of ἡ Ἑλλάς) is the victim. — 22. **ζῆλος...γέλως...μῖσος,** i. e. *envy* of those whom our ancestors *hated* (ἐμίσουν), *laughter* at that which was then deemed most grievous and dreadful (χαλεπώτατον), and *hatred,* perhaps *punishment,* not of the criminals, but of the good citizen who exposed them. The three clauses in answer to the question here are carefully set over against the three which answer the question in § 37. The picture of moral degeneracy is all the blacker for being painted on so bright a background; and the climax is reached *in any country* when the leading men envy those who have grown rich by corruption, laugh when they unblushingly confess the bribe, and,

instead of punishing iniquity, visit their anger and indignation upon those who bring it to light; and if the people love or are willing to have it so, their ruin is inevitable. — 24. **ἤρτηται**, *result* (lit. depend) *from.* — 40. 25. **σωμάτων.** The student hardly need be informed that this is the regular word for *men* in the military sense. — 27. **νῦν ἅπασι, κ. τ. λ.**, *all* the Greek states *now possess in greater number and abundance than they then did by far.*

41. P. 41, l. 4. **προσδεῖσθε**, *you have no need of my testimony in addition* (*προσ-*) to that of your own senses. — 6. **γράμματα** here = inscriptions. — 7. **κατέθεντο ..εἰς ἀκρόπολιν**, *which they inscribed on a bronze column and deposited in the Acropolis.* For this use of *εἰς*, where we say *on* and *in*, see note § 27; C. 704; G. 191, N. 6; H. 618 a; Madv. 79. — 42. 9. **φησίν**, *it says*, sc. the inscription, *γράμματα*. — 9. **Ζελείτης**, *of Zelea*, a town of Mysia in Asia Minor, mentioned by Homer. *Il.* 11. 824. Cf. l. 17 below. — **ἄτιμος**, sc. *ἔστω*, *let him be outlawed.* It is a civil technic, and the sense in which it is here used is explained below, § 44, and is thus stated by Whiston: *let him be an outlaw*, i. e. let him lose all the benefits which, though a foreigner, he would have had at Athens by the *jus gentium*, or international law, and those to which, according to Æschines (*Cont. Ctes.* 259), he was entitled as a *proxenus* of Athens. — 12. **ὅτι... ἤγαγεν.** He was sent into Peloponnesus by Artaxerxes to stir up a war against Athens. — 43. 14. **τίς ἦν ποθ'**, *what must have been the sentiment. ποτέ* as usual adds emphasis to the question. The time is denoted by *τότε*. — 15. **ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα**, *or rather what their conscious worth.* Kennedy and Heslop render *ἀξίωμα*, *dignity.* Whiston renders it *spirit*, but very properly adds, that "the word is almost *untranslatable* here. It implies a spirit of self-respect by which they were induced to expect and demand (*ἠξίουν*) from themselves certain actions and principles as alone worthy of their position." See also Grote, VI. 233, note. — 16. **Ζελείτην...δοῦλον βασιλέως ..διακονῶν.** These are all circumstances which distinguish the case from the corruption of the present day at Athens and make it the more remarkable that the Athenians should have punished it with such severity. — 20. **ἀτίμους** is plural because it follows *αὐτὸν καὶ γένος* (himself and family) and agrees with both, while *ἐχθρόν* is singular because it precedes them, and agrees only with *αὐτόν*. *ἀτίμους* takes the gender of *αὐτόν*. C. 490, 497; G. 138, N. 2; H. 511. — 44. 21. **τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν**, *and this is not the ἀτιμία commonly so called* (which one would usually

call by that name). — 22. **τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν**, emphatic by position: ATHENIAN *franchises*. — 23. **ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς**, *but it is written in the laws relating to murder defining* (lit. respecting) the persons *for whom he* (the lawgiver) *does not allow prosecution for murder: "and," says he, "let him die an outlaw."* The argument is: the *ἀτιμία* to which Arthmius was condemned could not be mere privation of civil rights, — what punishment would that have been to a man of Zelea? — nay (ἀλλ'), he became *ἄτιμος* in the sense in which the word is used in the *φονικοί νόμοι*, viz. out of the pale of all law, so that he could be slain with impunity. So the orator explains himself in the following clause: *this then is what he means, that he who has killed a person of this class* (*ἄτιμον*) *is clear of bloodguiltiness.* The passage has occasioned much discussion, and the readings differ considerably in different editions.

P. 42, l. 3. **μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.** This participial clause contains the condition: *if they had not habitually cherished* (imperf. part.) *this opinion*, sc. that they must care for the safety of all the Greeks, and not merely of Athens. — 4. **οὕτω...ὥστε...ποιεῖν**, *with such severity that they even made them stelites*, that is, branded them on pillars. The familiar distinction between *κολάζειν* and *τιμωρεῖσθαι*, as drawn by Aristotle, viz. that the former is chastisement for the reformation of the person chastised, while the latter is punishment for the sake of the law and the state, is not always observed, and here both words are used for emphasis. — **46.** 7. **οὐ γὰρ οὕτως, κ. τ. λ.**, *for* YOU *do not feel so towards such things as these nor towards anything else.* — 9. **εἴπω**, *shall I tell you?* lit. may I? Between ἀλλὰ πῶς and *εἴπω* most of the MSS. and some editions insert two or three lines which Σ omits, and which, as they manifestly disturb the connection, are omitted in this and in the majority of editions.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ. These words, found in many MSS. and most editions (in some bracketed), doubtless proceeded from some copyist who did not understand the immediately preceding context, and who supposed that here Demosthenes read, or had read by the clerk, some document containing the resolutions, or the measures recommended by the orator. But this does not accord with the preceding *εἴπω*, which in that case should have been *λέξω*, nor with the fact that these recommendations follow in § 70 seqq.; nor indeed does the connection require this or any other insertion. The reproof which the orator proceeds to administer to the

blindness and self-complacency of his countrymen, and the bribery of too many of them, is sufficient to explain the hesitation and the fear of their displeasure with which he introduces it.

E. Reproof of their blindness and self-complacency in regard to Philip, and the readiness of too many to receive his bribes (47–52).

47–52. YOU FOOLISHLY FLATTER YOURSELVES THAT YOU CAN OVERCOME PHILIP EVEN MORE EASILY THAN YOU DID THE LACEDÆMONIANS. BUT EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED AND ADVANCED SINCE THAT TIME, AND NOTHING SO MUCH AS THE MODE OF CARRYING ON WAR. THEN THE CAMPAIGN LASTED ONLY FOUR OR FIVE MONTHS. NOW PHILIP MAKES NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUMMER AND WINTER. BESIDES THE LACEDÆMONIANS NEVER THOUGHT OF BUYING AN ADVANTAGE OR A CONQUEST, WHEREAS PHILIP ACCOMPLISHES MOST OF HIS ENDS BY THE HELP OF HIRELINGS AND TRAITORS.

47. 10. **τοίνυν**, *well then*, if you wish, I will tell you. — 11. **ἄρα**, cf. § 20, et passim. — 15. **ὅμως ..ἀνηρπάσθη**, *yet our state resisted even them and was not destroyed* (swept away). — 16. **ἁπάντων**, *while everything, so to speak* (= almost everything), *has made great progress.* — 18. **οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον**, *I do not think anything has changed and advanced more than the* methods of carrying on *war.* — 48. 19. **πρῶτον μέν** is correlative to δέ, l. 24: *in the first place*, the comparative shortness of the campaign, *and*, secondly, the simplicity of the people who never thought of buying a victory—both necessitate corresponding changes in our action. — 20. **ἀκούω.** See note *Phil.* I. 23. — **πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους**, *and all the other Greeks.* — 21. **τέτταρας μῆνας, κ. τ. λ.**, *for four months or five, just in the season.* Compare Thucydides's history of the very war here referred to, II. 47; III. 1, et al. With τὴν ὡραίαν, Franke compares *Or. Contr. Dion.* § 33: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντας παραχειμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ὡραίαν. — 22. **ἐμβαλόντας ἄν**, *would invade and ravage the country with heavy armed soldiers and national troops and then retire homewards again.* — 24. **οὕτω...πολιτικῶς**, *and so old-fashioned* were they or *rather so national in their ways.* πολιτικῶς, like πολιτικοῖς, l. 23, is opposed to that which is *foreign*, and here especially to the employment of mercenaries (ξένους, p. 43, l. 6), which had become so common in the time of Demosthenes; the former might be rendered *Athenian*, as the latter might be rendered *Spartan.* — 25. **χρημάτων.** Kennedy compares the old lines of Ennius:

> Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes
> Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.

P. 43, l. 1. **νόμιμόν τινα,** *but the war which they carried on was legitimate as it were and open.* τινά is an apology for the use of the epithet νόμιμον as applied to war. — 49. 2. **δήπου,** *doubtless: but now you see doubtless that the traitors have caused the most of our disasters, and that nothing is done in fair field or fight.* — **τοὺς προδότας, κ. τ. λ.,** is opposed to οὐδὲ χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ., and οὐδὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως (in battle array) to νόμιμον...πόλεμον. — 6. **ψιλοὺς...ξένους** opposed to ὁπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν, p. 42, l. 23, and governed by ἐξηρτῆσθαι with στρατόπεδον as an appositive: and *you hear of Philip marching where he pleases, not...but by attaching to himself skirmishers, cavalry, archers, mercenaries, — an army of that sort.* ἐξηρτῆσθαι is somewhat contemptuous; compare our *hangers-on.* — 50. 7. **ἐπὶ τούτοις,** *at the head of such troops as those.* Westermann and Franke take these words in the sense, which is frequent (and possible here), of, *besides this, præterea.* — 8. **νοσοῦντας.** The reader must have become familiar with our orator's fondness for this word to express the moral and political state of his countrymen, and especially their *dissensions among themselves* (ἐν αὑτοῖς). Cf. § 12 above; *De Cor.* 45, et passim. Heslop renders: *suffering from internal disorders.* — 10. **ἐπιστήσας.** Cf. note § 17. — **καὶ σιωπῶ,** *and I pass over the fact that there is no difference between summer and winter, neither is there any season whatever exempt during which he rests* (intermits). — **θέρος** and **χειμῶνα** would regularly be nom. and subject of διαφέρει, but for emphasis they are attracted into the principal clause, and made the object of σιωπῶ. — 51. 12. **μέντοι** is not adversative here, but affirmative, like μὲν δή (which is the reading here in some MSS.) = *certainly then.* This is the primitive meaning of the word = μέν τοι. See Lex.: *certainly then, knowing these things all of you and taking them into consideration, you ought not,* etc. With the *pair* εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους here compare ἐνθυμηθείητε καὶ λογίσαισθε, *Phil.* I. 31, et passim. — 14. **εὐήθειαν,** *simplicity,* both of morals in not using bribes, and of warfare in their citizen soldiery and short campaigns. — 15. **ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι,** *plunge headlong into ruin.* The figure, which is too bold to be preserved in English, is drawn from a horse throwing his rider over his head. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.*, I. 4. 8: ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κἀκεῖνον ἐξετραχήλισεν. The figure is carried out in βλέποντας. The word is also used, especially in the passive, in the sense of *breaking the neck* (Aristoph., *Nub.* 1501, et al.), and Rehdantz explains the metaphor thus here. Compare, however, *Ol.* II. 9:

ἀνεχαίτισε, and *De Cor.* 138: ὑποσκελίζειν. — 16. **ὡς ἐκ πλείστου,** *as long beforehand as possible.* For ὡς with the superl. see C. 553; Cu. 631; H. 664. For ἐκ with words denoting time, see note *Phil.* I. 1: ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. — 17. **ὅπως οἴκοθεν, κ. τ. λ.,** *seeing to it that he does not stir from home, and by no means* (οὐχί) *engage with him in a decisive battle.* The figure is well preserved in Heslop's rendering: *and not close with him in mortal struggle.* The omission of the connective increases the vividness. — **52.** 20. **ἄν περ** = *if only.* Al. ἄνπερ. — 21. **ἡ φύσις,** one of the *many advantages,* subject of ὑπάρχει. — 22. **ἧς...πολλήν,** *much of which.* — 23. **ἄλλα μυρία.** The connective omitted. Render: *and a thousand others.* — **εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα** is carefully and emphatically contrasted with πρὸς μὲν πόλεμον, l. 19: *for* (lit. *towards*) *a war...but for* (lit. *into*) *a battle.* The prepositions are chosen to suit the nouns, though the obvious distinction cannot be expressed in concise and idiomatic English. Compare εἰς τὰ πράγματα and πρὸς τοὺς λόγους, *Ol.* III. 1.

F. The duty and necessity of punishing the agents and hirelings of Philip illustrated by numerous examples (53–62).

53–62. It is impossible to conquer your enemies abroad till you punish their ministers at home. Look at the sad history of Olynthus, of Eretria, of Oreus; and see the fatal consequences of listening to traitors in preference to patriotic advisers.

53. 25. **Οὐ μόνον...οὐδὲ...ἀλλά,** *and you must not only cherish habitually these sentiments and not only oppose him constantly by deeds, the deeds of war, but on calculation and on principle you must begin to hate those among you who advocate his cause.* The force of μόνον extends to the second clause (οὐδέ) as in *De Cor.* 2 and 107, and often. — **μισῆσαι** is what is sometimes called an ingressive aorist, like ἴσχυσαν, § 23, and ἄρξασι, 24 = begin to hate, conceive hatred. μισῆσαι enim est *odium concipere,* μισεῖν *odisse,* Franke. γιγνώσκειν and ἀμύνεσθαι, on the contrary, express continued action.

54. P. 44, l. 5. **οὐ δυνήσεσθε.** The inability which the orator foresees is, of course, a moral inability, as the next clause shows. The other MSS. add οὐδὲ βούλεσθε, which is omitted by Σ and most of the recent editions. — 7. **μή τι δαιμόνιον,** *that some supernatural power is driving the state to ruin.* The editors generally render τὶ δαιμόνιον, *some evil genius* or *evil spirit;* and to this there is no objection, perhaps, if it only be remembered how different an idea the

words suggested to the old Greeks from that which we associate with the words *evil spirit*. In classic Greek *δαιμόνιον* may mean a hostile fate or a vengeful providence, but never exactly, as in N. T., an evil spirit. See as an illustration the use of the word in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Plato's *Apology*. See also L. & S. *Lex.* — 8. **ὥστε λοιδορίας, κ. τ. λ.**, *that for calumny, for envy, for jest, for any cause whatever that may strike your fancy, you bid hirelings speak.* — **οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ὡς οὐκ.** C. 713 d ; Cu. 617, Obs. 3 ; G. 283, 6 ; H. 838. — **55.** 12. **καὶ οὐχί...δεινόν**, *and this, bad as it is, is not by any means the worst*, lit. not yet at all bad, sc. in comparison with what *yet remains* to be said. — 14. **τούτοις**, *these men*, e. g. Æschines and Philocrates, particularly Æschines, whom he had recently prosecuted for misconduct of the embassy. Cf. *De Fal. Leg.*, and Introd. p. 112. — **56.** 18. **Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ**, *there were in Olynthus some of the public men* (those engaged in the affairs of state) *who were Philip's creatures, and who served him in everything, and some who were on the patriotic side* (the side of the public good) *and labored to save their fellow-citizens from slavery.* — **Φιλίππου** is gen of the possessor after *ἦσαν*, and *τοῦ βελτίστου* is substantially the same. — 22. **ὧν προδοθέντων**, gen. abs. denoting the cause : *by whose betrayal Olynthus was destroyed.* Lasthenes, who was commander of cavalry, betrayed six hundred men into an ambuscade, and Olynthus soon after fell into the hands of Philip. Cf. § 66 below ; *De Cor.* 48 ; *Fals. Leg.* 266 ; Thirl. *His.* II. 109, Amer. ed. — 24. **καὶ ὅτ' ἦν, κ. τ. λ.**, *and who, while the city still existed, were slandering and calumniating the patriotic counsellors to such a degree that the people of Olynthus were persuaded even to banish Apollonides.* This Apollonides afterwards became an Athenian citizen. Some question has arisen as to the meaning of *ἐκβαλεῖν*, and the treatment of Apollonides, in regard to which see Heslop ad loc., and Thirl. II. 109, 110.

57. P. 45, l. 1. **τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο**, *this habit* of listening to traitors and enemies of the state. — 3. **ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος**, *when, after Plutarch and his mercenaries were gotten rid of, the people was in possession of the city and of Porthmus, some were for bringing the government over to you and others to Philip.* The imperfect (*ἦγον*) denotes *attempt* or *desire*. Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria, was at first supported by the Athenians, but proving faithless to them in the battle at Tamynæ (B. C. 354), was afterwards expelled by Phocion. — 6. **ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων**, *and listening to the latter for the most part rather* (than

to the former). Al. *τὰ πολλά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα*, in most things or rather in everything. — 7. **τελευτῶντες**, *finally*. — 58. 9. **καὶ γάρ τοι**, *for you know*. — **ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς**, *their ally*, said in irony. Cf. § 33 above; *De Or.* 295; Grote, XI. 622. — 12. **καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα**, *and since that he has expelled them* (the Eretrian democracy) *twice from the country, when at length they wished to save themselves*, sc. from the tyrants by the help of the Athenians. — 14. **τότε μὲν...πάλιν δέ**, *then* (= *once*)...*and again*. — 59. 16. **τὰ πολλὰ** implies that he passes over *the many*, that is, the most of the facts, and mentions only a *few*. — **Φιλιστίδης**. Cf. § 33 above; *De Cor.* 48; Grote, XI. 621. — 17. **ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ**, *was intriguing for Philip*. — 18. **οἵπερ νῦν**, *the very persons who now have possession of the government*. — 19. **ταῦτ'**, sc. that they were partisans of Philip. — **Εὔφραῖος**, a pupil of Plato, was recommended by him to Perdiccas of Macedon, whose minister he was for some years. Heslop. — 21. **ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι**, sc. *ἔπραττεν*, *was laboring that*. Cf. *πράττοντες ὅπως*, § 56. — 60. 24. **ἐνέδειξεν**, *indicted him*. The technical term for a criminal process. Cf. *Dic. Antiq.*, Ἔνδειξις. — 27. **καὶ χορηγὸν...καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι**, *with Philip for their choragus and their prytanis*. These words, so full of meaning in the literary, civil, and religious life of the Athenians, and so well understood by classical scholars, have no exact equivalents in English; *paymaster* and *president* perhaps come as near to them as any. *παρ' ἐκείνου* follows *πρυτανευόμενοι* in many MSS. and editions: *directed* (inspired) *from him*.

61. P. 46, l. 4. **ἀποτυμπανίσαι**, *and cudgelling* THEM *to death*. The allusion is borrowed from the beating of the tympanum. Observe the change of tense; the *aid* to Euphræus should have been a *continued*, the *cudgelling* of the traitors a *finished* action. — **τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον**, *but they said that* HE *deserved to suffer this, and they rejoiced at it*. Sic Latine *idoneus* pro *dignus*. Schaefer. — 6. **οἱ μὲν ἐπ'**, *they with all the liberty of action they desired*. — **κατεσκευάζοντο**, *and were arranging for the execution of the plot*. — 9. **τὸν Εὔφραῖον**. Cf. note on *θέρος*, § 50. — For the plural **μεμνημένοι** after **εἴ τις**, see C. 496; Cu. 362; G. 135, 3; H. 514 a. — 10. **ὥστε** and **πρίν** are both followed by the indic. to express the fact definitely *as* a fact. — 11. **τοιούτου ...προσιόντος**, *although an evil of such magnitude was approaching*. — 12. **ῥῆξαι φωνήν**. Compare *rumpere vocem* in Latin, and in English, *break silence*. — 12. **διασκευασάμενοι**, *fully prepared for action*, — *instructa acie*. — 13. **οἱ πολέμιοι**, *the enemy*, — always in a military

sense. — 14. **οἱ μὲν ἠμύνοντο.** Cf. *ἦγον*, § 57 : *some were for resisting, others for betraying* the city. — 15. **οἱ μέν**, *the latter rule and exercise despotic power.* — 16-18. **τοὺς τότε...ἀποκτείναντες**, *having banished some and put to death others of those who at that time were* so eagerly *saving themselves and ready to do anything whatever to Euphræus.* — 19. **ἐκεῖνος**, *noble man that he was.* See *Lex.* and Gr.

G. The lesson of wisdom and duty to Athens, and the necessity of immediate, united, vigorous action (63-76).

63-76. Learn wisdom from the experience of others. Be willing to hear the truth, and do your duty before it is too late. First prepare money, ships, troops for your own defence; send supplies to your army in the Chersonese; then send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, to all the Greeks, yes, and the barbarians; and invite them to unite with you against Philip.

63. P. 46, l. 24. **ἥδιον...ἔχειν**, gen. with *τοῦ* after *αἴτιον* : *of their being more favorably disposed towards the advocates of Philip than to the advocates of their own interests.* — 25. **ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν.** This is the orator's answer (as usual) to his own question : *just the same which exists among you, namely, that,* etc. — 27. **πρὸς χάριν**, *to please* their hearers. — **τὰ γὰρ πράγματα.** Another instance of attraction from the subordinate into the principal clause for the sake of emphasis : *to consider the state how it shall be preserved.* Cf. Εὔφραῖον, § 61, et passim.

P. 47, l. 1. **οἱ δ'...συμπράττουσιν**, *while the others* (their opponents) *are co-operating with Philip in the very advice by which they please* their hearers. — **64.** 3. **εἰσφέρειν, κ. τ. λ.** The brevity of the original can hardly be preserved or even imitated in English. The omission of the *οἱ μέν* (the patriot orators), which would be the regular antithesis of the *οἱ δέ* (the venal orators) in each alternate clause, links the clauses into one rapid, compact sentence, in which not only the connective but the subject is left to be understood ; in short, it is a kind of doubly condensed asyndeton : *called for a war-tax, but* THEY *said there was no need of it ; for war and mistrust, but* THEY *for keeping the peace, till they were caught in the snare ; everything else in the same way methinks, not to go into particulars ; in short, the one party were continually giving advice at which the people would be pleased, the other by which they would be saved.* — 8. **πολλὰ δὲ καὶ, κ. τ. λ.**, *and in many cases at last also did the people give way, not so*

much either from complaisance or through ignorance, but quietly submitting because they thought they were ruined in their main interests, or, *when they believed that all was lost.* — 65. 11. **νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω.** Homer's heroes swear by the three principal deities, Zeus, Apollo, and Athene, in a great emergency: *and verily by all that is sacred I fear that this will be* YOUR *experience when upon reflection you see that you can do nothing.* — 15. **κολακείᾳ...Φιλίππου,** *in flattery of* (= *out of complaisance to*) *Philip.* Al. Φιλίππῳ. — 66. 15. **καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοί,** *a beautiful return, indeed, have the people of Oreus now received!* — 20. **δουλεύουσί γε,** *yes, they are slaves, subject to the lash and the slaughter.* "Compare this with the choicest of Mr. Burke's invectives of derision and pity upon the same subject, — the sufferings of those who made peace with regicide France, — and acknowledge the mighty effect of relying upon a single stroke to produce a great effect, if you have the master hand to give it." Lord Brougham's Inaugural Discourse at Glasgow, quoted by Whiston. — 21. **καλῶς,** *beautifully did he spare the Olynthians!* — 67. 23. **μωρία.** The asyndeton which began with the previous section still continues. — 24. **κακῶς βουλευομένους,** *and while taking evil counsel...to think you inhabit a city of such greatness that you will suffer nothing serious whatever may happen.* There is no MS. authority for *μηδὲν*, but the best editors insert it as required by Greek usage.

68. P. 48, l. 3. **νὴ τὸν Δία,** *yes, to be sure! for we ought to have done* SO AND SO *and not to have done* SO. *νὴ τὸν Δία* can hardly be rendered into good English. Whiston renders: *but so it is by Zeus;* Kennedy: "*however* —"; Vömel: *Hercule vero.* — 4. **πολλὰ ἄν,** *many things might the Olynthians mention now, which, if they had foreseen at the time, they would not have been ruined, many things the people of Oreus.* The reader must often have observed our orator's fondness for such rhetorical repetitions, making an impression somewhat like a refrain in verse. Cf. *καλήν*, § 66; *οὐ*, 34 and 32. — 69. 7. **ἀλλὰ τί.** The answer is self-evident, viz. none; but it is also illustrated and enforced by the apt and striking simile which follows. — 8. **ἕως ἂν σῴζηται,** *so long as the vessel may perchance be safe* (or *may be kept safe*). The passive of this verb is generally used in the sense, *to be safe, to be well;* but it is in the subj. with *ἄν*, and I can hardly agree with Smead and the commentators generally that "it has precisely the sense of the adj. with the copula, as below, *ἐσμὲν σῷοι.*" It suggests more the idea of a *process* (not merely a state),

and in this mood and with *ἄν* the further idea of contingency. — **ἄν τε μεῖζον**, *whether the vessel be larger or smaller.* This clause meets and answers the notion above that Athens is too *great* a city to be destroyed. — 9. **τότε** is emphatic, and opposed to *ἐπειδὰν δέ*: THEN, and not *when the sea has already overpowered it.* — 10. **ἑξῆς**, *in turn.* — 11. **σκοπεῖσθαι**, *to be on the watch.* — **μάταιος ἡ σπουδή.** The omission of the copula intensifies the conclusion: *vain the effort!* Hardly allowable in English discourse, but not uncommon in Greek. — 70. 13. **καί** introduces the application of the simile, as in *Ol.* I. 11; III. 18; *Phil.* I. 40; and *τοίνυν* emphasizes it, as *οὕτως* does in *Ol.* I. 11: *and we accordingly while we are safe.* The orator ingeniously expresses the contingency in the illustration, *ἕως ἂν σώζηται*, but here suggests no doubt of the present safety of the state, and even goes on to magnify its resources and its dignity (*ἀξίωμα*, see note § 43). — 15. **τί ποιῶμεν.** Instead of the formal application and conclusion which the hearer expects, the orator, with an art which has been much admired, or rather under a patriotic impulse which seems natural and irrepressible, breaks out with, *what shall we do?* as if that were the question which already filled the minds and hearts of his hearers, and which they had long been wishing to ask. — **πάλαι...κάθηται**, *some one sitting here this long time would be glad to ask.* We should make the participle the principal verb in English, and the verb a descriptive participle or substantive = *some one of my hearers has been long wishing to ask.* — 16. **ἐγὼ νὴ Δί'**, *yes, indeed, and I will tell you, and will move a resolution also, so that if you will you shall vote it;* that is, he is ready to do just what in the beginning of his second Philippic he complains that the leading orators will not, viz. take the responsibility, be not only an orator but a statesman, and not only tell the people what to do but put them in the way of doing it. — 18. **αὐτοὶ πρῶτον**, sc. before exhorting others. *αὐτοί* opposed to *τοὺς ἄλλους*, l. 23. — 20. **λέγω**, *I mean.* — 21. **ἡμῖν γε**, *we* Athenians *at least must contend for liberty;* it is due to our antecedents and our ancestry. — 25. **πρέσβεις.** After *πρέσβεις*, most of the other MSS. and Σ, by a later hand, add: *εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον πάντα καταστρέψασθαι)*: send ambassadors *to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, to the king, I say (for it is not foreign to his interests even to prevent this man from conquering everything).* The passage is Demosthenic; but Becker has omitted it in

his stereotype edition, whose text we generally follow. — 27. **εἰ δὲ μή,** *but if not, that you may at least delay operations* (lit. introduce delays in the operations).

72. P. 49, l. 2. **τοῦτ',** *this*, sc. delay, *is not useless, because the war is with an individual man* (who may die), *not with the strength of a collected state* (whose perpetuity does not depend on the life of one man). — 3. **αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι,** *nor* (useless were) *those last year's missions and complaints upon which I and my excellent friend there Polyeuctus ... went about the Peloponnesus.* — **κατηγορίαι,** sc. against Philip: *πρεσβεῖαι καὶ κατηγορίαι* are a kind of *hendiadys* (one thing expressed by two words) — hence *ἃς περιήλθομεν* may be said of both. As to these embassies of Demosthenes and others, see Introd., p. 115; Æsch. *con. Ctes.*, 97; Dem. *De Cor.*, 79. Polyeuctus and Hegesippus were political friends of Demosthenes. Hegesippus is supposed to have been the real author of the Oration De Haloneso; and Polyeuctus is named (Arrian. I. 10. 7) with Demosthenes and Lycurgus among those whom Alexander required to be given up into his hands. — 6. **καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν,** *and* thereby *caused him.* — 73. **οὐ μέντοι λέγω,** *I do not mean, however, that we exhort others while we are not willing to do anything that is necessary for ourselves.* — **ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέν,** *but I say that we ought, in the first place* (*μέν*), *to send money to the troops in the Chersonese, and do whatever else they require, and get ourselves in readiness, and then* (*δέ*) *convoke, bring together, instruct, admonish the rest of the Greeks.* — 17. **ταῦτ' ἐστί,** *such are the duties of a state possessing a dignity* (note, § 43) *such as belongs to you.* — 74. 19. **Χαλκιδέας,** of Chalcis in Eubœa. — 20. **ἀποδράσεσθαι,** *and so you will escape the trouble*, lit. run away from it like a slave from his task. — 21. **ἀγαπητόν γάρ,** *for it is enough for them if they are saved each one of them for themselves.* For the construction and meaning of this word see *Ol.* III. 30. — 22. **ἀλλ' ὑμῖν,** *nay* (cf. *ἀλλά*, § 19), YOU *must do this; to* YOU *your ancestors bequeathed this honor which they won with many and great perils.* Compare the closing paragraph of the third Olynthiac, § 36, where a participle takes the place of the first verb (*ἐκτήσαντο*): *μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.* The adverbial element, *μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων*, qualifies both the verbs: it cost them many and great perils to *transmit* as well as to *acquire* it. — 75. 24. **εἰ δ' ὃ βούλεται, κ. τ. λ.,** *but if each one of us shall sit down seeking what he wishes and inquiring how he shall avoid doing anything for himself, in the first place, he*

will never find those who will do it for him, and then, besides, I fear that there will come upon us the necessity of doing all at once everything that we do not wish. — **οὐδὲ μὴ ποθ' εὕρῃ.** C. 627; Cu. 620; G. 257; H. 845. — **δέδοικα ὅπως μή.** C. 625; Cu. 616, Obs. 3; G. 218; H. 742 a. — **ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν.** See the same construction, *Ol.* I. 15, where also the same fear is expressed in similar language.

76. P. 50, l. 4. **ἐπανορθωθῆναι...γιγνομένων,** *and I think that even now our affairs might yet be retrieved if these things were done.* The condition is expressed (with less contingency) by the participle, and the conclusion by the infinitive with *ἄν*. — 6. **λεγέτω,** pres. imper., *let him at once come forward and give it* (lit. let him *be* doing it forthwith). — **ὅ τι δ' ὑμῖν.** The oration, like so many others, concludes with a prayer for the blessing of heaven upon their deliberations: *and I pray all the gods that your determination, whatever it shall be, may have a happy issue.* This longest and most effective of all the popular orations of Demosthenes occupies only a little more than twenty pages in the Greek text, and only fifteen in Kennedy's translation. It might easily have been delivered within the time (two hours) which Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in his recent address at the Commencement of Amherst College, declared should be the extreme limit of any oration or argument that would be effective.

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